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Reaction to Bosnian Peace Talks in Geneva

Karadzic Comments

AU2008162293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, President of the republic of Srpska, by Dusan Cukic; in Geneva on 20 August—recorded]

[Text] [Cukic] Mr. Karadzic, a segment of the Geneva conference is over. We hope that this will be final. What do you think?

[Karadzic] Well, these have been long, difficult, and strenuous weeks of work and negotiations. I believe that a compromise package has been created that will enable all three peoples to get something they perceive as important to them; no one will lose everything, or gain everything. This is the only solution that should and must satisfy all three peoples, and I believe that after this, we can expect peace and cooperation between the three peoples and the three republics. Continuing the war can no longer bring accrue advantages to any of the three sides.

[Cukic] Is there a chance that someone could still sabotage this peace process?

[Karadzic] Well, if someone sets his mind to sabotaging the peace process, the international community will be a witness to this, whoever it may be. That side will bear the responsibility for the continuation of the war. I believe that the side in question will certainly lose.

[Cukic] What more will the Srpska republic do?

[Karadzic] First, we will now go to our assembly and to the people. We will summon our parties and explain to them what we have been doing, and what was possible and what was not possible. Namely, we have to be realistic and distinguish between what is possible and what we would like. However, I feel that all three sides should be satisfied with what has been achieved, and we will certainly further consolidate our internal policy; we will turn our attention toward peace. However, we must be aware of the fact that war is still possible, although I believe there is no need for it.

[Cukic] Do you believe that one of the sides will nevertheless stall, despite what you have just said? I am asking you this because we have had negative experiences with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the rump Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina. On the other hand, Franjo Tudjman told reporters just a while ago that he would sign all the maps right now.

[Karadzic] Well, I believe that no one has any reason not to sign. No one can harbor maximalist aims, because they cannot be realized. We have had very negative experiences with the Muslim side. This dates back to the [word indistinct] of the paper. We are now more or less quite close to this [word indistinct] paper. All this could have been avoided; the war could have been avoided. Everything would be very different today. However, it is better to end it now, than to have another year of war and still be in the same position.

We will certainly contribute to the establishment of peace. However, if one of the sides rejects this—and I do not think the Croats will reject it because they have made concessions—then the international community will be forced to play umpire. It will have to withhold any kind of help or support to the side encouraging the war, and pave the way to a solution that must be implemented. Simply put, the killing and destruction must end. The international community must achieve this with the Muslim side, since it has been supporting it all along. Thank you.

Milosevic Discusses Agreement

AU2008155293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Interview with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic by Dusan Cukic; in Geneva on 20 August—recorded]

[Text] [Cukic] Mr. President. Strenuous talks have been held here in Geneva for the second day. You hardly ever had a break. However, little information reached the public as to what had been discussed. We know about the division of territory and the creation of three new republics within the former Bosnia- Herzegovina....

[Milosevic] The talks have been completed. Now we have a complete package—the constitutional agreement, the maps, the military agreement—therefore, everything that constituted the contents of a complete, overall solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina. I would not speak of the details now. We expect [changes thought), it has been agreed at the meeting that has just ended that the map be published in the course of the day so that our citizens would be able to see what proposals are being put forward. They are already familiar with some parts of the document, but we expect it to be published entirely in the next few hours. For this reason I would not dwell on the details. All three sides, which now have the complete package of the overall solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina, have obliged themselves to go to their parliaments and decide there on acceptance or possible objections to the solutions offered, so that the final agreement could be reached in Geneva on 30 August and the matter finally and formally brought to an end.

[Cukic] During the last few days, weeks, and months there have been numerous [word indistinct]. Even the delegation of [changes thought]—I must say this as we have reported it on several occasions— Mate Boban criticized Alija Izetbegovic extremely openly in front of the reporters for stalling the talks. Could another such stalling element exist in this phase?

[Milosevic] Regarding the obstacles, there are definitely some, always, since it is evident that powerful outside factors exist that do not wish this major crisis zone in the

Balkans to be finally closed. However, I am convinced that this reasonable, honorable, fair, and just compromise that has been achieved in the talks so far, represents a firm and solid basis for finally reaching an agreement and that the residents, and also the assemblies, I believe, will embrace this compromise as a way toward peace and a way that will reaffirm the interests of all three nations in Bosnia- Herzegovina.

[Cukic] Mr. President, does it stem from all this, can I conclude, that you are satisfied with this, I would say, the final round of the talks on the former Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Milosevic] Doubtless, the entire talks can be assessed as successful. Since you have asked, I can state that I believe that the entire agreement, that is, its contents as a whole, including the constitutional agreement and the maps, should be accepted.

[Cukic] Thank you!

Delegations Not 'Clear' on Proposal

AU2008191293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Report by Nirza Hajric from Geneva]

[Text] Another round of peace talks has ended in the Palace of Nations in Geneva late this afternoon. After the final meeting, the cochairmen [Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg] distributed copies of their proposal for a peaceful solution.

The Bosnian delegation unfortunately has less reason to be satisfied with what is on offer. According to Owen's proposal, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina still does not have access to the sea and eastern Bosnia has been narrowed to the territories of Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde communes. Access to the Sava River has been won, but part of the territory is much smaller in the final version than it appeared during previous talks.

Brcko will belong to the Bosnian Republic, which will be a component of the union of the republics. There is a connection with Gorazde by road, but connections with Zepa and Srebrenica exist only through a corridor over Serbian territory. If the Serbs wish to travel along this corridor they must ask permission of the Bosnian authorities.

According to Owen's proposal, the situation is highly complicated on the territories of Prozor, Gornji Vakuf, Bugojno, Travnik, Novi Travnik, and other towns in this region. Croats' access to Gornji Vakuf and Bugojno has been secured via some roads, corridors, forest paths, and detours. It looks as though only Lord Owen knows what it is all about; our delegation believes—and this is also the impression of the Serbian and the Croatian sides—that it is not exactly clear what it is all about. This proposal can, therefore, be accepted with reservations. It is a topic that should be well thought over [word indistinct] next 10 days. The talks continue on 30 August in Geneva.

Our delegation in a press statement explained that it was returning to Sarajevo dissatisfied with what has been offered, and that it will return to Geneva on 30 August ready to negotiate further, but that in the meantime, the siege of Sarajevo and Mostar must be lifted and all prisoners must be released from the camps in Herzegovina. These are not preconditions for the continuation of the talks but a final warning to the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the leaders of the Croatian extremists to stop the genocide that they have been carrying out intensively during the last three months.

Boban Comments on Compromise

LD2008182193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban said in Geneva that the peace plan and maps presented by international peace mediators were the only possible compromise for ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Boban, who spoke to journalists before leaving Geneva, is the first of the three Bosnian leaders to comment on the peace package. I think that everything has been done and the three sides must now submit the proposals to their respective governments explaining that it is a question of compromise, the best possible compromise for ending the war and achieving peace, Boban said.

Tudjman on Outcome of Talks

LD2008181893 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Excerpts] The Geneva talks have been suspended; they will resume on 30 August. On the basis of the talks with all three sides the cochairmen proposed their own version of a territorial separation. The three sides are expected to examine this version. Mirko Galic reports from Geneva:

[Passage omitted] [Begin Tudjman recording] The cochairmen proposed to all sides a package containg a draft agreement, in which all sides took part on an equal footing, but with which all sides were equally either satisfied or dissatisfied. They are expected to examine the entire draft proposal with the representatives of the three nations in question. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Draft Agreement Divisions

AU2008181493 Paris AFP in English 1756 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Geneva, Aug 20 (AFP)—A peace draft agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina would leave the Muslim-led government about 30 percent of the territory with little room for improvement, mediator Lord Owen said Friday.

He said the Bosnian Serbs, who currently control about 70 percent of the land after 17 months of fighting, would be left with "52 percent plus" and the Croats with "17 percent plus."

Owen, the European Community envoy to the talks, suggested that this could be the best offer available to the Muslims, who accounted for 44 percent of Bosnia's pre-war population but control only 10 percent of the land.

"Obviously if we thought we could wring any more concessions out of them (the Serbs and Croats) we would have," the mediator said. "I think it is not as generous as we would have liked but it meets the 30 percent criteria we set two months ago."

Owen made it clear that Muslim President Alija Izetbegovic would face a stark choice on the proposed map for three ethnically based republics when the talks resume here on August 30.

"He knows as well as we do that we would have liked to be able to improve the map," Owen told a news conference. "From what he told us he will ask his people to weigh up the choice."

Owen played down chances for any substantial changes in the draft agreement presented to the parties, which included constitutional principles as well as a map of the future Bosnian union.

"It would be very difficult to open up the package," he said. "Certainly we wouldn't encourage anybody to believe it was possible to open up the package."

UN envoy Thorvald Stoltenberg estimated that about 40,000 troops would be needed to implement the latest plan. This was down from the 70,000 officials said were required to police an earlier plan dividing Bosnia into 10 provinces.

Stoltenberg would not predict whether the three parties would sign the agreement when the peace conference resumes in 10 days.

"What I know is that all three parties were not satisfied," he said. "That could also be a good sign because when you try to make a common platform for a peace agreement you cannot expect that they will all agree."

Lord Owen Views Plan

LD2308113193 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Interview with Lord Owen, cochairman of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, by presenter Zeinab Badawi on 20 August; Owen in Geneva, Badawi in London; from the "Channel Four news" program—recorded]

[Text] [Badawi] What have the three sides agreed to?

[Owen] To go back to their peoples and to discuss the proposal, the complete package, if you like, and hopefully to exercise their leadership and to persuade them to accept it. I think the hardest task is undoubtedly going to be that facing President Izetbegovic. Nobody could pretend that this is an ideal settlement for him, but he has to weigh up the advantages of a peace settlement against the disadvantages of some particular aspects in it. His country has been at war now for over 17 months. He is facing a winter which they are ill-prepared for and are going to be very much more vulnerable to than they even were last winter, so he has to balance these things, and each and every individual Bosnian has to—it's not an easy choice.

[Badawi] Is this the best deal they are going to get?

[Owen] Well, we have spent four weeks more or less in continuous negotiation, night and day, it seems. I honestly don't think that I can get them a better one—maybe there are other people who can but I doubt it. I think its been a very, very difficult negotiation and my fear is that if they were to reject it and continue to take the path of war, what would be on offer later would be very much worse.

[Badawi] Does this mean that they will end up with a state which is viable?

[Owen] Yes, I think it will be. In fact they end up with most of the industrial heartland of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some of it has been damaged but they are by and large a city people, whereas the Bosnian Serbs tend to be rural people. That is why even in the Vance-Owen plan they had more land than the Bosnian Muslims. You have got to look at the density of the population, you have got to look at where they are living, whether they are cities or in rural villages, but I think it still is a fact that they haven't had as much land as I would have liked to have seen in Bihac and in eastern Bosnia.

[Badawi] But the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic has said that they have made painful compromises, yet they still hold on to 50 percent of the land. What compromises have they made?

[Owen] Well, they arguably lived on close to 60 percent before the war, so they have always had a lot of land, that has not been the problem. The thing that has pained them is to give up things which they have not liked: They fought vigorously against giving up any part of Brcko, they fought very hard to take some more of the industrial assets, the mining assets, and they think they have not been able to get nearly as much of the riches of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is what they argue anyhow and there is some truth in that.

[Badawi] Do you believe that the leaders will be able to secure grass-root support for the deal?

[Owen] I really do not know. I think the Croats who fought almost the hardest at various stages have not liked this settlement either. I think that they and the Serbs will

probably reach agreement, although we thought after Athens that the Bosnian Serb assembly would accept it. In Pale, remember they rejected it, so I don't count any chickens before they are hatched, but as far as President Izetbegovic is concerned I think a lot depends on the quiet voice that isn't heard, the person who really is fed up with the war. I suspect we haven't heard their voices and I hope they will be heard, it's not easy, there aren't the normal democratic procedures, it's a country that has been at war, but we have had a long meeting with the Presidency, which was a constructive and helpful meeting and we explained all the ins and outs of the negotiations and a number of them at the end came up to me and said: I know it's going to be very, very difficult but we can't face this war continuing.

Owen on EC Administration of Mostar

AU2008182293 Paris AFP in English 1800 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Geneva, Aug 20 (AFP)—EC mediator Lord Owen said Friday that he had asked the European Community to administer the embattled southern Bosnian city of Mostar for two years as part of an overall peace plan for the republic.

He said the proposal, which resembles a recently concluded agreement to place Sarajevo under an interim UN administration, was made in the final hours of the latest round of peace talks here and had received a positive welcome from current EC president Belgium.

But he added that no formal approval had been given by the EC.

Mostar has been the scene of bitter fighting between the mainly Moslem Bosnian government forces and Bosnian Croats, who want Mostar to be the capital of their ethnic mini-state in a partitioned Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Earlier Friday the Bosnian Croats prevented a UN aid convoy from reaching the Moslem sector of Mostar, which relief officials say has been cut off by 100 days of fighting and where an estimated 35,000 people are desperately short of food, fuel and other essentials.

Owen, speaking after the Bosnian peace talks here were suspended for 10 days to allow the warring parties to consider an overall peace plan put forward by him and co-mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg, said the proposal for Mostar was a key element to the settlement.

"The Mostar agreement is very important," he said at a press conference. "The situation has become very serious and deep seated. I think we could not have got an overall solution without (the Mostar proposal). I think it was one of the breakthroughs in the negotiation."

Izetbegovic on Outcome of Talks

LD2008221193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Excerpts] The latest round of Geneva talks ended at the Palais des Nations late this afternoon. [passage omitted]

After the Geneva meeting, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, gave a special statement for B-H radio and television:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] We have just given a statement for the press saying that we are not satisfied with this round of talks. A package of solutions regarding the future constitutional organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina was presented to us. As far as the maps are concerned we are not at all pleased, and we have said so quite clearly.

Our demand—that the Serb side should return to us the territories taken by force, where [word indistinct] ethnic cleansing was carried out—was not met. It will perhaps be easier to see this when the maps are made public. I will then take the opportunity to fax them so that they can be printed in OSLOBODJENJE. We were offered a territory of a little over 30 percent of the Bosnia-Herzegovina territory. True, this is the most developed part of Bosnia, with its communications, infrastructure, hydro-electric plants on the Neretva, etc. However, it is important to say that a good part of the territory from which our people were expelled has not been returned to us and these people will not be able to go back there. Of course, they could return to the territory left to us, and most people will be able to go back there if some other agreement is signed.

However, we have taken a break, i.e., the talks have been postponed until next Monday, in 10 days' time, so that in the meantime we can hold a Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly session—most likely an expanded session—to take a final stand on whether or not to continue taking part in these talks, whether what was offered to us can constitute a basis for further talks, or else whether or not to reject all this. The decision on this cannot of course be made by either an individual or the Presidency. The decision has to be made by the Assembly, given that we are not allowed to hold a referendum. The decision is so important that to hold a referendum would be the most natural thing to do.

I think that a Bosnian Assembly session will be convened and that we will invite all the deputies, government members, public workers, religious dignitaries, eminent writers, i.e., prominent cultural and public personalities, to take a stand in this decisive moment in history.

However, I think that we were successful in certain things. We managed to expel them [as heard] from Igman and Bjelasnica, the mountains they took while incurring considerable losses and which we regained without any losses.

We also managed to refocus the attention of the international community to Mostar, where our civilians are suffering. They are now also being forced out of their own homes, and new concentration camps are being opened, etc. We have thus managed to draw attention to [word indistinct]. EC observers entered the town yesterday. UN Protection Force representatives also went there for the first time in a long while. They will open up a route for representatives of the Red Cross, humanitarian organizations, convoys with food, etc. We therefore succeeded in opening these heavily bolted doors of the town, which was practically closed to the world.

I think that we also succeded in making the fighting in Bosnia- Herzegovina die down to a certain degree, which saved hundreds of lives. The humanitarian situation was also somewhat stabilized regarding the convoys, and also as far as Sarajevo is concerned, though not a great deal.

In the statement we have just made we said that the priority task is the lifting of the siege of the city of Sarajevo. I think that we will agree when we get there [as heard] that we will not resume talks unless the siege of the town is lifted and, of course, until the situation in Mostar is normalized [words indistinct].

But once again the gesture of good will on the part of the other sides to continue, and even to come to a successful end, will this time be Sarajevo, their readiness to lift the siege, i.e., to withdraw the artillery from the hills around it and open up the roads. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Boban Comments on Map

LD2108163993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text] Mate Boban, president of the Croat Community of Herzeg-Bosna arrived on the island of Brijuni, where Croatian President Franjo Tudjman will receive him. The two of them will jointly consider and decide about the Geneva conference proposals.

Commenting on the Geneva conference proposals Boban said that the last week was very difficult. The talks were marked by a high degree of irrationality and lacked a sense of reality, with their insincerity and refusal to recognize one nation, its interests, and rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The talks were an integral part of a two-year long struggle of the Croat nation, which is being replayed daily as if we had never met before. The important thing is the organization of Bosnia- Herzegovina: a union of republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a union of national Croat, Muslim, and Croat republics.

There is, objectively-speaking, a very unfavorable aspect of the situation for all three sides, Boban said. We were given a week for the political bodies of three nations to consider the proposal.

Asked whether there was a possibility for Croats and Muslims to cooperate and to adopt a softer approach to resolving Croat-Muslim problems, Boban said that, unfortunately, the Muslim aggression against the Croat people and its units and Muslim demands have removed possibilities for a cooperation. They are not in favor of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a union of republics. They want a unified Bosnia-Herzegovina and they will not give this up. Great sacrifices suffered by the people are also bringing us apart. This is in fact an act of pressure aimed at preserving a unified Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Croat people, through its representatives in the Croatian Democratic Union have been stressing that it has its interests and rights. It must preserve its rights. We have done a lot for the Muslim people.

Boban was asked if he thought that the war, especially between the Croat and Muslim nations, would end soon? He said that if the latest Geneva proposals are rejected on 31 August, the alternative is general chaos. We, the Croats, will try to protect ourselves from that chaos, Boban concluded.

Former President Alia Sent to Tirana Prison

AU2008162493 Tirana ATA in English 1206 GMT 20 Aug 93

[From the "Press Review"]

[Excerpt] Tirana, August 20 (ATA)—[Passage omitted] ZERI I POPULLIT reports that ex-president Ramiz Alia was sent to prison in Tirana yesterday, after being under house arrest for nearly 10 months. [passage omitted]

Arrest Viewed as 'Relentless Purge'

AU2008162393 Paris AFP in English 1547 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Article by Nicolas Miletitch]

[Text] Tirana, Aug 20 (AFP)—The arrest of Albania's former communist leader Ramiz Alia suggests the pro-democracy government here is conducting a relentless purge of the communist old guard.

Alia, 68, who took power in 1985, was arrested and jailed Thursday following new evidence against him, becoming the seventh top official from the communist era to be accused of "corruption, abuse of power and embezzlement," court sources said.

Former prime minister Fatos Nano, head of the ex-communist Socialist Party, now the main opposition to President Sali Berisha, was arrested in early August.

Meanwhile, Wilson Ahmeti, another ex-minister from Alia's government and now a judge, has been implicated in the allegedly corrupt payment of 1.6 million dollars to Frenchman Nicolas Arsidi for the renegotiation of Albanian's foreign debt.

Others arrested so far include the former defence minister Prokop Murra, former communist party ideologist Foto Cani, former agriculture minister Pali Miska and two ex-members of the politburo, Muho Asllani and Besnik Bektesi.

Nexhmije Hoxha, 72, widow of Enver Hoxha who founded the communist regime in Albania and died in 1985, was sentenced in May to 11 years in prison.

She was found guilty of "embezzlement of funds and corruption," but not for the part she played in running Europe's last Stalinist state.

Despite this, President Berisha, post-war Albania's first non-communist leader, said he had no plans to carry out a witchunt when he came to power April 1992.

In evidence of this, Pjeter Arbnori, the parliament speaker, who was held in communist prisons for 28 years, told AFP that some of his current advisors had been high officials in the communist regime and that even the prosecutor who had sentenced him for "agitation and anti-communist propaganda" was still in his post.

Nevertheless, the opposition is extremely concerned following the jailing of former premier Nano and the six-month prison sentence given to the leader of another small opposition party accused of insulting President Berisha.

"The authorities want to gradually eliminate any form of political competition," a leader of the Democratic Alliance—a group of anti-Berisha dissident deputies from the ruling Democratic Party—said.

"We have returned to a sort of authoritarian regime," Prec Zogaj, a former colleague of Berisha's in the early days of anti-Alia opposition, said.

The Albanian authorities maintain the arrests and the sentencing of former communist leaders are on criminal, not political grounds.

However, the opposition accuses the authorities of exerting pressure on Berisha's enemies by dismissing opposition activists and their families from their jobs and by blocking press freedom.

These measures are officially justified on the grounds of restructuring necessitated by Albania's economic reforms.

Ministry Warns of 'Aggressive' Serb Policy

AU2008192793 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] The Foreign Ministry of Albania made another appeal to the Security Council, the CSCE, and other international organizations to take urgent measures to prevent the outbreak of conflict in the south of the Balkans, by halting Serbia's warmongering and aggressive run.

A Foreign Ministry statement stresses that Albania remains loyal to the viewpoint, which it has already expressed several times, that the placement of Kosova under NATO and UN control will serve the goal of preventing the expansion of the conflict to the south of the peninsula.

The Foreign Ministry expresses its great worry over the considerable increase of state terror [words indistinct] of the conflict. Within a week, the Serbian police and military forces have undertaken three punitive expeditions against the civil population in Mitrovice, Pristina, and Gjakove, using firearms, and wounding, beating, and arresting dozens of people.

The statement stresses that the recent events prove, at best, that Serbia is intentionally increasing its policy of provoking the 2 million Albanian people of Kosova to create confrontation on a very large scale, which would certainly have countless consequences. The Foreign Ministry notes that the military provocations that Serbia is undertaking against the Republic of Albania warn of a great level of danger for the southern region of the Balkans.

The provocation of 6 August, when the Serbian forces wounded three persons in the Albanian territory, two soldiers and one civilian, and that of 11 August, of a Serbian helicopter infringing upon Albanian airspace, throw light on a really macabre plan of Belgrade to provoke new tensions, cause massacres of the people, and conduct massive ethnic cleansings.

The statement by the Foreign Ministry spokesman stresses that the Republic of Albania has attracted the attention of governments, parliaments, international institutions, and the whole international community to the great dangers posed by the Serbian aggressive and terrorist policy of Belgrade in Kosova and the Serbian strategy of expanding the flames of war to the south of the peninsula.

Police Impound Goods Headed for Serbia, Dubrovnik

AU2008125293 Tirana ATA in English 1013 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Tirana, August 20 (ATA)--Two trucks with cigarettes were impounded by the financial police in the coastal city of Durres. Albanian authorities confiscated the cargo of Marlboro cigarettes worth 300 000 dollars.

GAZETA SHQIPTARE writes that the trucks were coming from Italy destined for Dubrovnik in Croatia. The trucks' route would have taken them through Podgorica, in Montenegro, thus violating the UN embargo against Serbia and Montenegro.

Albanian authorities noted that the documentation for the cargo gave no indication that the trucks had cleared Italian customs.

As a financial police official said, this cargo would have been smuggled through Montenegro and Puglia. This is another in a series of similiar cases that have come to light recently along Albania's Adriatic coast.

Several days ago, the court of Durres convicted and imprisoned 3 Italian nationals for smuggling a large quantity of cigarettes, which were found in their motorboat.

Berisha Decrees Appointment of Agriculture Minister

AU2108194593 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text]

Decree To Release and Appoint Minister

On the basis of Article 28, Clause 7, of Law No. 7491 dated 29 April 1991, on main constitutional provisions, and with the proposal of the Council of Ministers chairman, I decree:

Article 1

Mr. Petrit Kalakula is released from duty as agriculture and food minister at his own request.

Article 2

Mr. Hasan Halili is appointed minister of agriculture and food.

Article 3

This decree takes effect immediately.
President of the Republic Sali Berisha.

Socialists Analyze 'Tense' Situation

AU2108161893 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 Aug 93 pp 1, 3

[Statement issued by the Socialist Party General Management Committee in Tirana on 6 August: "Not Peaceful Demonstrations But Political Provocations of State Violence Are Creating Destabilizing Situations"]

[Text] At its meeting on 6 August the General Management Committee of the Socialist Party [PSSh] discussed recent political developments in the country. It expressed total solidarity with the message sent from prison by PSSh Chairman Comrade Fatos Nano. The present situation is complex and tense because of a range of social, economic, and political problems exacerbated by the mentality and practices of a state dominated by violence and by the psychosis of political revenge among the revanchist forces that are increasingly taking over the Democratic Party [PD] and the posts held by its representatives in the highest state authorities.

From an economic angle, the situation today is marked by a further deepening of the crises, mass unemployment, drastic price rises, and a painful increase in the number of people existing below minimum living standards, even including signs of starvation among certain strata. Even though there is a great deal of noisy boasting about carrying out the reform, the concrete program of economic reform has never been made public and made known to everybody. Anarchy, chaos, and lack of production prevail in the country's devastated economy.

Under these circumstances, people's disillusion, despair, and anger at the luxurious lives led by the PD-ite rulers and speculation and corruption at all levels have been continually growing.

From a political angle, the situation is extremely tense and is characterized by fascism in the country's life and increasing police repression and violence, with the installation of a revanchist regime that is looking for revenge and a settling of scores, instigating fratricidal war, north-south conflict to the point of a rift, religious divisions, and even attempts to liquidate the opposition and pluralism in Albania with the contrivance of such scenarios as the arrest of PSSh Chairman Fatos Nano.

A chaotic, rudderless, and unstable foreign policy with its servility and political flirtations beyond Europe has created indifference toward Albania. A lack of public information about the talks conducted and agreements signed by our rulers today have even led distinguished European personalities to state in public that "Albania has been sold," "Albania will be cut into pieces," etc.

This political position of the current PD-ite rulers could not fail to have caused, as indeed it has caused, large-scale anger and disgust in Albania and even abroad. These two fundamental factors connected with the political, social, and economic standpoints of PD-ite rule are the main cause of the increasing tension of the situation inside the country and the growth in the wave of anger and indignation among the country entire people.

The peaceful, disciplined, and entirely legal rally organized in Tirana and the rallies organized in the overwhelming majority of the country's districts have shown the people's desire and determination for freedom, democracy, and a secure life; they have shown a will to defend Albania and not to allow a dictatorship to be replaced by a neodictatorship, one party-state by another, and a class struggle by political vengeance that will further deepen the painful gulfs dividing Albanians. These rallies have been a deeply democratic expression of freedom of speech and the right to assembly and an expression of the people's desire for democracy. The efforts of today's rulers to sabotage them in different ways, even including pressure and the organization of counterrallies, are in vain and utterly absurd, just as are their intentions and efforts to distort the purpose and nature of these rallies by portraying them as Enverist attempts to bring back the communist dictatorship, etc. The PSSh, in denouncing such efforts, publicly states once again that it will never fall into the trap of political radicalization, which is an attempt to strike against the opposition and to subsequently liquidate pluralism in Albania.

In its program and concrete activities, the PSSh has shown that it remains true to the ideals of democratic socialism as an economic and social model that has been successful in Europe, that it holds fast to the development of a market economy with a social character, that it supports private property and free initiative, and that it supports private property and free initiative, and that it will seek to promote the now suspended and paralyzed economic reform.

The abusive and deceitful PD-ite propaganda claims that the PSSh will bring back the cooperatives, collective flocks, the class struggle, the Red terror, etc. The people are not taken in. They know that there is no bringing back the past, and that such claims can be made only by these who want to turn cartwheels with the wheel of history. PD-ite propaganda is now finding it hard to find people sufficiently naive to be deceived by its label of "social-communist" attached to every opposition force outside or even within the PD ranks. The intolerant proclamation of every opponent of the PD as "anti-democratic" and a "lackey" of "spy of the social-communists" recalls nothing so much as a Stalinist-style settling of scores. It is not the peaceful demonstrations, where not a stone has been thrown, not a window has been broken, and not a flower has been picked, that are creating destabilizing situations. They are being created by the intentional penalization of the political activities of PSSh leaders, who are declared "guilty" at rallies, in parliament, and in statements by associations and parties in flagrant contravention of Article Seven of the Law "On Basic Human Rights and Freedom," which the regime of violence has begun to systematically violate.

We have declared and stress once again that the PSSh is struggling to defend the freedom trampled on by PD-ite rule and the democracy that has been hit hard by the installation of a new revanchist-fascist dictatorship. It is struggling for the country's sovereignty, against divisive tendencies, and against the auctioning of the country. It is struggling to strengthen national unity and to solve our national question in a democratic way.

Analyzing the current situation in the country with a high sense of responsibility, conscious of its role and place as the main opposition party, relying on the mass support of its electorate that has now grown to enormous dimensions, and aiming to solve the country's serious accumulated economic, social, and political problems, the PSSh demands:

1. An end to the intentional delay in approving the Constitution of the republic and a guarantee of the judicial foundations and necessary mechanisms for the full establishment of democracy.

2. Early elections to be considered as the sole option that satisfies the people's desire to establish the necessary political balance that will open the road of understanding in order to solve the acute problems of the country's future.

3. The creation of a political climate of mutual tolerance based on the law and justice, by cancelling as illegal and provocative measures the arrest of Fatos Nano, party presidium member Fatmir Kumbarn, and 31 PSSh supporters unjustly held in prison after the peaceful demonstration of 30 July.

4. The enforcement of the law by the state television in order to transform it from a party spokesman into a mouthpiece for Albanian cultures, aspirations, and interests.

5. The condemnation of all decrees of the Council of Ministers that conflict with the interests of the broad strata of the people, in order to make all Albanians property owners by law.

We issue a call to the country's political parties, the president of the republic, and the country's progressive associations to assess with realism and without prejudice

the country's present situation and to commit themselves together to confronting it. As ever, we insist on the vital need to organize a roundtable and a way to alleviate political tension and to find the best possible solution to economic, social, and political problems.

The PSSh General Management Committee calls on all the party's members and supporters and all honest people not to fall victim to the organized provocations and pressures of the police state and to show themselves determined in defending the ideals of freedom and democracy, in order to pave the way for the country's economic development, the solution of our national question, and Albania's dignified entrance into Europe.

New Cooperation Cycle With UNDP Approved

AU2108151893 Tirana ATA in English 1017 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text] Tirana, August 21 (ATA)—The Albanian Government has approved the 5th cycle (1993-1996) of cooperation with the UNDP [United Nations Development Program].

After a year's interruption of the fourth cycle program, at the end of December 1992, the UNDP, based on the new orientations of the administrative council, sent the consultative note on Albania's program for 1993-1996. This will serve a more effective use of the funds the UNDP puts at Albania's disposal.

In the context of this cycle, various ministries have presented their priorities and needs for the sectors they cover.

New Customs Taxes Come Into Effect

AU2308095193 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Tirana, August 23 (ATA)—A new law on customs comes into force in Albania on August 23, the newspaper GAZETA SHQIPTARE reports. According to this law, the customs tax will vary from 0 to 30 per cent. Taxes will also be imposed on goods such as sugar, rice, vegetable oil, macaroni, soap and eggs. Besides this, all the goods will have an additional customs tax of 5 per cent of the goods' value.

The vehicles' tax will as well increase. Those which have been used for more than 10,000 km. will be payed from 22.5 thousand leks now to 45 thousand leks as an entry tax, a measure to reduce the access of very old vehicles to Albania.

There will be no customs taxes on the wheat and flour and the humanitarian aid is excluded from the 5 per cent tax.

Zhelev Views Relations With Macedonia

AU2108202293 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1746 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Speech by President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev at the official national celebration of the 90th anniversary of the Ilinden-Preobrazhensko Uprising against Turkish domination, in Petrova Niva, in vicinity of village of Stoilovo, southeast Bulgaria—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Compatriots, patriotic men and women of Bulgaria:

There are events in the history of every nation that should never be forgotten, events that determine that nation's historic fate, that not only form that nation's past but also predetermine its future. Only a nation with a strong historical memory and a strong national feeling is able to cope with the vicissitudes and trials of the changing times and take up a worthy place among other nations and win their trust.

One of the brightest pages in our modern history was written by the Bulgarians of Macedonia and eastern Thrace through their fight to preserve their nationality and to win liberty and independence. [passage omitted]

From the Ilinden-Preobrazhensko Uprising, and from the three national disasters that Bulgarian men and women have experienced this century, one can draw many important lessons. One of them is that Bulgaria must follow its own sovereign and independent foreign policy. It is no accident that we were the first to recognize the independence and state sovereignty of the Republic of Macedonia together with the other three former Yugoslav republics—Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. This fact demonstrates yet again that in 1993 the Republic of Bulgaria must begin to develop its own autonomous and independent foreign policy, bearing in mind only its own national interests [cheering] and the principles and norms of international law.

We were the first to recognize Russia as an independent state, by signing a protocol on establishing diplomatic relations even before the Soviet Union had disintegrated. Gorbachev, who was president at that time, was very angry about this and did not want to meet our delegation; our American friends were very uneasy about this Bulgarian diplomatic move. They, like the representatives of the EC, nurtured the hope that the decommunization and democratization of this multinational state could take place within the framework of the empire itself, without its dissolution. A similar illusion was held in relation to the Federation of Yugoslavia. We, however, held the opposite view, and were therefore the first to recognize the right to self-determination of all the peoples forming the population of our western neighbor, and we subsequently, when the referendums were held, recognized their state sovereignty.

I remember how, soon after we recognized the Republic of Macedonia, an old man from Vardar [region in Republic of Macedonia] addressed an appeal to me, that we should show more understanding toward the populace of the new sovereign state, because, in his own words, Macedonia is a child of Bulgaria. By this, he evidently wanted to stress our common ethnic roots and cultural and historical traditions. [applause]

(?One cannot but remember) the ancient parable of the judgment delivered by King Solomon, when he had to judge in a dispute between two quarreling women and decide to which of them a child belonged. One of them claimed that the child was hers, while the other would not yield in her claim that the child belonged to her. Then the wise judge said: Because there is no way to find out to whom the child belongs, and I want to be fair, I will order the child to be severed in two, so that each of you will receive her own half. Then one of the women cried out: Do not cut the child in half, give the child to her! In this way King Solomon found out who the true mother was and gave the child to her, because a true mother can wish nothing but good for her own child; most of all that it should remain alive and well.

The Republic of Bulgaria naturally has no intention of claiming maternity rights or imposing any other kind of patronizing relationship on Macedonia. The parable that I have related expresses instead the good feelings and partiality of the Bulgarians toward their [word indistinct] in the Republic of Macedonia. However, bearing in mind that policies between two neighboring states can never be built on nationalist prejudices, on the basis of bias, but only upon sensible principles, our aims regarding the Republic of Macedonia are as follows: to assist in consolidating its state sovereignty and territorial integrity; to help Macedonia to become a member of the principal European and world structures and organizations; and to help it build up democratic institutions and establish democratic principles in its social life, by developing as widely as possible economic, political, and cultural cooperation between our two countries and by expanding links between state institutions at all levels.

Only on the basis of universal, completely free interchange between our two countries, to the extent that the border becomes merely a token barrier, can we achieve a real drawing together of the people, by revealing our common roots, our common history, our common culture, common religion, and common language. Today, this is the only realistic and reasonable policy that can be pursued in relation to the Republic of Macedonia. It corresponds both to our national interests and to the principles and norms of international law. I believe that it also completely conforms to the present state interests of the Republic of Macedonia. Today, anyone who isolates the settlement of the Bulgarian national question from the country's internal development, from the level of democracy and the market economy, from the overall prosperity and concern for the Bulgarians outside the country's borders, suffers from [word indistinct] and cannot achieve anything in practice.

Incidentally, we also propose such a policy of free movement of people, goods, capital, and cultural values across borders to our other neighbors—Greece, Turkey, Romania, and Serbia; naturally when the embargo is lifted.

There is no other country in the Balkans so strongly interested in free borders and free movement across them as Bulgaria, which borders with Bulgarians on every side. At the end of the 20th century and on the threshold of the new millenium, the Balkan peoples have no other possibility than to try to copy the model set by Western Europe, to follow the example of the EC member countries by renouncing war and the forcible acquisition of territories, to act in such a way as their borders unite and draw them closer together rather than separate them, so that the strength and greatness of every state is judged not by its size and the aggressiveness of its army, but by its development of democracy and the market economy, by the rights and freedoms that individuals enjoy, and by the real wealth that its people have created.

Only in this way can we defend and continue in a worthy manner the cause of national unification of the heroes of the Ilinden-Preobrazhensko Uprising. Eternal glory to the heroes of the Ilinden-Preobrazhensko epic! Homage to their bright memory! [applause]

Press Publishes Views on Macedonian Situation

AU2008150493 Sofia BTA in English 0847 GMT 20 Aug 93

[From BTA press review]

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—The 24 CHASA daily has devoted a whole page to the interview with Anatoli Velichkov, a member of the top leadership of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO, an organization set up at the turn of last century to liberate Bulgarians in Macedonia from Ottoman domination) [VMRO]. He says that the reason for the restoration of the IMRO two years ago is that its major purpose—resolving the Macedonian Problem—has yet not been achieved. DEMOKRATSIYA has interviewed 65-year-old Canadian businessman John Bitov who launched the initiative for the World Macedonian Congress. Mr. Bitov says he wants to "start a policy by which Macedonia will abolish the borders." In reply to the question why until 1963 he was committed to his Bulgarian origin, to renounce it later on, Mr. Bitov says "I have never been a Bulgarian," adding that in his view the Macedonians are closest to the Bulgarians. "Bulgaria and Macedonia—Side by Side and One Against the Other," reads the headline of an article by Yordan Velichkov, co-chairman of the Will for Bulgaria Movement, published in DUMA. In Mr. Velichkov's opinion, "the change in the Republic of Macedonia are far from being so radical as some people in Bulgaria think, its rulers are the same as before, the political system is the same, the people who are concerned with Bulgaria, who hold the key positions with respect to Bulgaria, are the same, which means that there is no change." Certain forces in the Republic of Macedonia are still engaged in the gross anti-Bulgarian propaganda campaign launched in Yugoslavia 40 years ago, Mr. Velichkov adds to explain his statement. According to him, at least half of the population in Macedonia has Bulgarian national awareness.

Berov Answers Critics at News Conference

AU2008193093 Sofia BTA in English 1446 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—"The government will fight political vulgarity. Some think the cabinet is a sweet apple of which anyone can take a bite, trying to win some respect or to cash in on politics, by barking at the executive. The government is no sweet apple, it is a hard nut," Prime Minister Lyuben Berov told a press conference today.

The press conference was called by the prime minister, who invited everyone who has been criticizing the cabinet these days. Recently the leader of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation (one of the two largest trade union amalgamations), Konstantin Trenchev, charged that the cabinet carried on secret talks with the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and committed itself to counteract Podkrepa's influence in the military-industrial complex. In a recent interview, the chief secretary of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) Ivan Kurtev said the cabinet was preparing to declare an emergency. The cabinet also came under fire on account of its performance in carrying out the land reform. Yesterday the president's adviser on home policy affairs Georgi Spasov said nearly 900 cooperatives were established on the initiative of BSP activists and a process of "agricultural recollectivization" (a restoration of collective farms set up in the 1950's) was going on. The leader of the extraparliamentary Bulgarian Agrarian Party Anastasiya Mozer also said a recommunization of farming was under way.

Of the persons invited to the press conference today, only a representative of the Agrarian Party was present.

Speaking to reporters, Prof. Berov again denied Mr. Trenchev's charges the cabinet as being pressured. "This cabinet took office in the name of a governmental programme voted by parliament. Defending this programme, it is defending the national interest," the premier said. He stressed the cabinet was ready to work with other parliamentary groups and political forces which would help carry out this programme.

"The cabinet does not depend on individuals, it depends on a majority of MP's who are convinced they are acting in the national interest. I also defend the national interests," he said when asked if the cabinet will leave office this autumn.

Mr. Berov stressed his cabinet was hostage to no one, especially to no trade union amalgamation. "We have sought and we shall keep seeking cooperation with

labour in making difficult decisions, but the government cannot referee the struggle among different amalgamations, let alone trade union in-fighting," he said, asked about the problems around the admittance of trade union amalgamations to the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation (of the government, trade unions and employees).

Under the Bulgarian Constitution, the state is separated from the church. The government cannot do anything to settle church disputes, he said, asked if the cabinet would intervene to help heal the rift in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church.

Interior Ministry Needs New Laws To Fight Crime

AU2008180293 Sofia BTA in English 1408 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—I cannot promise a fast solution to the crime problem unless parliament passes a judiciary act, Minister of the Interior Viktor Mikhaylov told a news conference today. He said that once the act is passed, the Interior Ministry is going to introduce into parliament bills on a new code of criminal procedure and a new penal code. In the last two years a mere 1 percent of criminals were convicted and their proportion is going down, Mr. Mikhaylov said.

Mr. Mikhaylov and Justice Minister Petur Kornazhev will move for amendments to the effective Code of Criminal Procedure in the autumn when parliament will resume its work. Under the amendments the police will be allowed to gather evidence. There will be new texts on racketeering and illicit distillation of alcohol, Mr. Mikhaylov said.

The minister of the interior stressed he was in favour of the idea that the public should give assistance in the combating of crime, saying this should be done by voluntary organizations. He declared himself against the appeal made recently by Sofia's Mayor Aleksandur Yanchulev to relax arms possession regulations and set up vigilance committees.

The police are ready to provide information and probably communications equipment to all civil formations which can be of help in crime control, Mr. Mikhaylov said. According to him, the police will not direct this activity but will only give assistance.

Commenting on the rise in violence against the person, Mr. Mikhaylov said policing in the streets has been reinforced. The interior troops work in conjunction with police patrols in the Black Sea towns and resorts in the summer.

Mr. Mikhaylov said there are 5,000 vacancies in the police force. He said several policemen who had committed crimes had been arrested. This problem will be discussed at a meeting of all regional directors of the interior in late September.

KNSB Leader Warns of Economic 'Collapse'

AU2108194293 Sofia PARI in Bulgarian 16 Aug 93 p 3

[Article by Professor Krustyu Petkov, president of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria: "The Economy: From Chaos to Collapse!"]

[Text] Everyone expected the collapse to take place in 1990 or 1991. The forces of inertia present in the economy itself and the measures to promote financial stabilization prevented the crash, but the respite was only temporary. It was well-known that the structural part of economic reform should be launched after the monetary reform.

Now a third government is about to begin a large-scale, painful, but health-promoting restructuring of the national economy. A third prime minister cries out that he is about to jump, but fails to take off. During this period, negative processes have gained strength that in my view have brought about the present chaos. Because some people dispute my assessment, believing it to be exaggerated and premeditated, I will attempt to substantiate it.

The chaos has its own dimensions and signals that are clearly visible to the naked eye. It reveals itself in the following:

1. An almost complete absence of financial and credit discipline. The total financial indebtedness of the enterprises is now more than 200 billion leva—30 billion leva more than at the end of 1992. However, what is worse is that for several months now almost no one has been paying any interest or repaying any capital. Everybody—the enterprises, banks, and potential foreign investors—is waiting for the borrowed credits to be converted into public debts. However, the transformation shows no signs of coming—it is stalled at the stage of discussions about which of the three alternative projects should be adopted.

2. Taxes are not in general being paid. [Former finance minister] Ivan Kostov lost the battle with the taxpayer, and [Finance Minister] Stoyan Aleksandrov is in an even worse position. Not only the private companies are refusing to pay; 1993 is a record year for the numbers of state-owned firms refusing to pay to the state funds earmarked for social security and the PKB fund [expansion not known]. Some directors are playing dupes, relying on the general atmosphere of carelessness. Most of them could not pay if they wanted too, because any money received is immediately collected by the creditor banks.

It appears that the 1993 budget year will end with less than half of the planned revenues collected, and in September or October it will have to be updated, that is, by again trimming budget expenditure.

3. The economy has been left without management, or rather is being managed by decrees that are generally ignored. (Council of Ministers Decrees Nos. 140, 102,

and 107 are recent examples.) The cabinet justifies the lack of a national program to solve the economic crisis or of any individual sector programs with the well-worn phrase that every one is sick of hearing: In the market economy, no management is needed. The economy is managed automatically by the invisible hand of the market. An interesting claim—no real market yet exists, we are still in transition toward it, yet the invisible hand has apparently already appeared!

4. The companies still have supervisory councils or officials responsible for their budgets in the ministries, but they are left to operate on autopilot. This would not be so terrible if they had authoritative, independent directors, but the present situation is different. Hardly any business manager's position in the state sector is secured by contract or anything else for three years. Pressured by workers, who want their wages, and by creditors and impossible-to-find reliable customers, the most competent managers left their posts long ago to start up their own businesses. Of course, there is nothing bad in all this, except that after their departure the state enterprise begins to go downhill.

This general state of disorganization can only be halted by radical measures such as those implemented at the beginning of 1991, combined with an immediate activation of structural reform. However, I can see no readiness or consensus to implementing such a program even in early September.

Meanwhile, the economy moves closer to collapse. Shortages of goods and speculation have appeared. Following in the wake of the electronics industry, weapons production, and agriculture, sectors that have miraculously survived these crisis years are now sinking to the bottom, such as light industry, the food industry, engineering, and so on. Even enterprises with new markets and good order books are becoming insolvent.

Specialists are well aware that a crisis has to be fought with anticrisis management. Inflation is being cured with extremely unpleasant financial remedies. Sometimes the medicine performs wonders and saves the patient from a state of clinical death. However, no one has yet devised a prescription to restore a ruined economy.

Anti-Fascist Union Members Meet Serbian Socialist MP's

AU2108133093 Sofia BTA in English 1922 GMT 20 Aug 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—Agriculture Minister Georgi Tanev today met with Syrian Charge d'Affaires Halil Allas [spelling of name as received] in connection with Syria's ban on animal and meat imports from Bulgaria. Mr. Tanev recalled the focus of FMD [foot-and-mouth disease] infection was eliminated in twenty days and the European Community lifted the ban on Bulgarian exports. Mr. Allas assured the ban should be seen as a temporary measure. [passage omitted]

At a press conference today, Agriculture Minister Georgi Tanev described attacks against the Agriculture Ministry as "dishonest" and "aimed to destabilize government institutions." He said the ministry had been acting in compliance with law, and charged the former government turned liquidation councils from working bodies into political squads. The all-out attack on Bulgarian farming, launched in 1992, is led by circles outside Bulgaria, he said.

Sofia today hosted a meeting of the Union of Anti-Fascists in Bulgaria and Serb Socialist MP's. The sanctions are no fair way to settle the crisis in former Yugoslavia, as they are hitting mostly the man in the street, said Ivica Dasic MP, member of the leadership of the Socialist Party of Serbia. He said problems in the Balkans could best be settled by Balkan nations. [passage omitted]

The leader of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation Dr. Konstantin Trenchev will sue ministers of the Lyuben Berov cabinet for inflicting losses on the economy, Mr. Trenchev told a briefing today, without naming names. Dr. Trenchev and Podkrepa's legal adviser Mariyana Ivanova accused the state institutions, parliament, the government and especially the judiciary and prosecuting authorities, of complete inaction. [passage omitted]

A race among grain buyers artificially sends bread prices up, says Lyubomir Khavsaliev, manager of the Burgas Mills, among the largest nationwide. Farmers have harvested merely half of the 120,000 tons [tonnes] of grain needed to feed the town, despite the signed futures. Though producers got loans against security of future produce, some shirk obligations, says the BTA correspondent in Burgas. [passage omitted]

The strike at the Khadzhi Dimitur branch of the SOMAT international road haulier in Sofia is going on. Representatives of the strike committee and the Transport Ministry met today. First Deputy Transport Minister Kiril Sadonkov said he was not authorized to negotiate with the strikers. A meeting with Transport Minister Kiril Ermenkov is expected.

Khacho Boyadzhiev and Paul Everak, directors general of Bulgarian and Romanian Television, respectively, today signed a framework agreement in Bucharest for maximum cooperation in the coverage of international events on the territories of the two countries.

The Military Council with the Chief of General Staff of the Bulgarian Army today held an expanded meeting to end the annual reshuffle of officer personnel, said the Defence Ministry press office. 502 officers leave the army, with 392 of them joining the reserve by their own will. Part are dismissed due to structural changes in the army or health problems. 62 are transferred to the reserve after being given a poor performance appraisal.

The council reshuffled 26 per cent of officers on active duty, promoted over 3,000 and demoted 279. [passage omitted]

CSCE Official Discusses Transit Corridor

AU2008132393 Sofia BTA in English 1015 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—A meeting with Mr. Norbert Huberts, head of the Sanctions Assistance Mission of the European Community and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Bulgaria, was held at the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry today, BTA was told by the ministry's press service. The sides discussed the new proposal of the Bulgarian Government for the implementation of the measures and procedures that would allow Bulgaria transit motor carriage via Serbia without violating the United Nations sanctions against Serbia-Montenegro.

The proposal was sent for approval to the coordinator of the Sanctions Assistance Mission Committee in Brussels, Ambassador Antonio Napolitano. The Bulgarian representation at the EC was instructed to insist on accelerating the procedure in view of Bulgaria's grave situation arising in connection with the sanctions against the former Yugoslavia. Upon approval by the Sanctions Assistance Mission Committee, the document will be submitted to the UN Security Council Sanctions Committee.

The embassies of the permanent members of the UN Security Council in Sofia will be familiarized with the document to rally their support, the press release says.

Base Interest Rate Lowered by 4 Percent

AU1908184893 Sofia BTA in English 1814 GMT 19 Aug 93

[Text] Sofia, August 19 (BTA)—Today the Governing Board of the Bulgarian National Bank (BNB) decided to reduce the base interest rate by 4 percent setting it at an annual of 44 percent as from August 23, 1993.

During the debates, the Governing Board came to the conclusion that the economic situation permits the reduction of base interest without any serious risk of increasing inflationary pressure.

The BNB will continue to follow closely the changes in the economic situation and react using adequate instruments, changing the base interest rate included, BTA was told by the BNB.

The BNB Governing Board selected the Belgian Banksys Company as the main contractor of the Borika Bank card project.

Dlouhy: Most Directors Endorse Wage Regulation

AU1908152293 Prague CTK in English 1405 GMT 17 Aug 93

[Text] Prague August 17 (CTK)—Czech Minister of Industry and Trade Vladimir Dlouhy told journalists today that the majority of directors of state-owned enterprises in the Czech Republic have endorsed wage regulation introduced by the government in July.

He said the ministry had prepared supplements to the 530 manager contracts and agreements concluded with directors of all state enterprises and that 60 percent of the directors had already signed these documents. The remaining 40 percent will sign them after the holidays. Dlouhy stressed that the supplements provide for sanctions to be imposed in case wage regulation is not observed. He said that though the measure appears to deal drastically with state enterprises, the majority of them agree with it.

Kalvoda Comments on Administrative Arrangement

AU1908143293 Prague CTK in English 1201 GMT 17 Aug 93

[Text] Prague August 17 (CTK)—The planned reform of the administrative-territorial setup of the Czech Republic must be targeted on the citizen, not a nationality, Czech Deputy Premier Jan Kalvoda, who heads the Government Office for Legislation and Public Administration, stresses in LIDOVE NOVINY today.

He warns against escalation of the Moravian issue and against abuse of the term Moravian nationality. Kalvoda sees it as something that misuses citizens' positive patriotism to extremely negative ends. The horrific charge of the nationality question in this part of Europe has not been defused yet.

The first part of the reform of the administrative-territorial setup of the republic, aimed to decentralise state administration and give more autonomy to localities, should be completed well before the local elections slated for autumn 1994.

Discussions on the theme have been going on since the fall of the communist regime in late 1989, with Moravians pushing for the restoration of the land arrangement and for a bigger portion of autonomy. They have accused Prague of collecting resources generated in Moravia and redistributing them centrally, a policy harmful to the Moravians.

The strongest criticism has been made by the extra-parliamentary Moravian National Party (MNS), but the parliamentary Self-Governing Democratic Movement for Moravia and Silesia (HSDMS), which has 14 seats out of a total of 200 parliamentary seats, has not been silent either.

Some four million people live in Moravia, the eastern part of the Czech Republic (the western part is Bohemia), which has a population of more than 10 million, according to the latest census of 1991. Over 1.3 million inhabitants of the republic claimed Moravian nationality in the census.

The territory of the present Czech Republic consisted of the Czech, Moravian and Silesian lands under the Habsburg Monarchy. After the establishment of the independent Czechoslovakia in 1918, the setup was more or less retained, but in 1928, Silesia was merged with Moravia to form one, Moravian-Silesian land.

The lands were abolished in February 1949, one year after the communists power in Czechoslovakia, and 13 regions, divided further into districts, were introduced in the Czech part of Czechoslovakia. In 1960 the number of regions was reduced to 7—five in Bohemia and two in Moravia, with Prague becoming an independent territorial unit on the level of a region.

In April 1990, the Czech parliament passed a law abolishing the regional governing bodies as of December 31, 1990. The Czech Republic is now divided into 72 districts.

In an apparent effort to further promote local autonomy, the Union of Towns and Villages had proposed to abolish even the districts, but later withdrew the proposal.

I think that the abolition of districts really can't be included in the first stage of the administrative reform. Nevertheless, I consider proposals to abolish the districts within their present borders as rational in the long-run. The latest blueprint for public administration does not accept the districts within their present borders because they do not often correspond to the population's needs, Kalvoda says.

In another part of the interview, Kalvoda allows for a certain tension existing between local governing bodies and officials from district bodies.

He rejects the view that the local governing bodies should perform all administrative duties and be controlled by law only. This is not possible or correct because this would harm the citizen, the ultimate target of the reform of the administrative arrangement, Kalvoda points out.

He also deals with the financial side of the reform, the relationship between state and local finances. The communities will always get subsidies, but local budgets will have to clearly define the sources of their own revenues. I must admit that we (the government) are still very from consensus on this for the time being, he says.

Daily Comments on Foreign Media Decision

AU2008133093 Prague CTK in English 0839 GMT 19 Aug 93

[Excerpt] Prague August 19 (CTK)—The Czech economic ministers had no choice but to reject draft legislation on foreign participation in the media prepared by Minister For Economic Competition Belehradek, writes the independent MLADA FRONTA DNES today.

Accepting the proposal would have been a betrayal of their principles, their election platform touting a liberal economic environment, even their efforts at attracting maximum inflows of foreign investment, says the paper.

The paper admits that a few countries have rules specifying that the sale of domestic periodicals by foreign publishers be approved by government or related bodies, but nonetheless, even this is unacceptable in the future Europe—the principles of free flow of capital are clear. No nationalistic restrictions will be considered. This is different from anti-cartel regulations that restrict the 'right' of multi-national or domestic publishers to a particular share of the market, or efforts by a united Europe to stand up to multi-national giants who 'suck up' a growing amount of advertising into their immense networks.

The difference with the minister's approach is, according to MLADA FRONTA DNES, that Europe is examining mergers not from the viewpoint of the source of capital, nor to prefer one group and discriminate against another, but rather to determine the consequences of links on economic competition. [passage omitted]

Zieleniec on Foreign Capital Share

LD2008201593 Prague CTK in English 1946 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Prague, August 20 (CTK)—Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec has seen no indication that the interest of foreign capital in the Czech media is caused by other than economic reasons, one, [as received] director of the press department of the Czech foreign minister Marek Skolil told CTK today.

He was reacting to the anxiety of Czech Minister of Economic Competition Stanislav Belehradek, who said on Thursday that some foreign investors interested in participating in the Czech mass media may not pursue purely profit goals, but may have other interests, for example, the possibility of influencing public opinion to their advantage. That is why the foreign minister will be asked to expressed his view on this possibility from the point of view of Czech Republic's international interests, Belehradek said.

At present the foreign minister has seen no indications that the interest of foreign capital in the domestic media, including the press, is caused by other than economic goals. Nor does he have signals that the state interests of the Czech Republic are threatened in any way, Skolil said.

He said Zieleniec believed that the influx of foreign capital into some media at present represented a domestic problem rather than an international political issue.

Skolil said that the Foreign Ministry was currently analysing the share of foreign capital in the press of other states. In some countries this field is regulated. Others, on the other hand, pursue a liberal approach and foreign capital has absolutely free access, Skolil said.

KSCM Advises Against Joining Left Bloc Party

LD2208190493 Prague CTK in English 1825 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Prague, August 22 (CTK)—The establishment of the Left Bloc political party does not aim at uniting left forces and threatens the cooperation of political entities within the Left Bloc election coalition, says a statement issued by the executive committee of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) at its session last Friday.

The executive committee pointed out that the name the new party chose matches the name of the election coalition and thus extensively disorients voters. The committee stressed that the activity of the Left Bloc Party founders represents an attempt to recruit KSCM members to the party, whose programme differs from the principles adopted at the KSCM 3rd congress.

The statement continues that the KSCM sees the Left Bloc Party as an independent left-leaning political entity and does not recommend KSCM members to enter the party.

The Left Bloc Party's preparatory committee on July 13 announced the intention to form a new political party, to be called the Left Bloc, which would integrate left-oriented voters. Of the 35 parliament members for the Left Bloc coalition, 23 supported the Left Bloc Party. The preparatory committee applied to the Czech Interior Ministry for registration of the new party on August 11.

The Left Bloc council, highest body of the initial election coalition, said at its last meeting that it would insist on the existing concept of cooperation of left-leaning organisations with various views, and rejected the Left Bloc Party's initiative. chairman of the Czech Democratic Left Party (SDL)—along with the KSCM another member of the coalition—said that the name Left Bloc belongs to all members of the coalition.

According to a public opinion poll conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research in July, the Left Bloc coalition would receive seven per cent of the vote if elections in parliament were held then.

In the 1992 parliamentary elections, this coalition won more than 14 per cent of the vote in the Federal Assembly (the now-defunct Czechoslovak Federal Parliament) and 14 per cent of the vote in the Czech National Council (current Czech Parliament).

CSSD Calls For Access to Secret Police Files

AU1908152493 Prague CTK in English 1321 GMT 17 Aug 93

[Text] Prague August 17 (CTK)—The Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD) considers the existence of three communist parties in the Czech Republic as its own success, its chairman, Milos Zeman, said today.

The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) split into three parties at its third conference in June. There are now also the Democratic Left Party (SDL) and the Left Bloc (LB) parties—Ed.

Zeman also said that the CSSD insists on allowing the public access to materials that the former communist secret police (StB) kept on them. He dismissed the excuse that the cost would be prohibitive, saying that one cannot put a price on moral considerations. The continuing restitution is a similar, even more serious matter of righting moral wrongs, he added.

On the 25th anniversary of the 1968 Prague Spring, Zeman called that aborted reform movement a landmark in the contemporary history of the Czech lands, which prepared the way for today's civic society. The communists, like the right-wingers, claim that the Prague Spring was simply the in-fighting of a faction of the Communist Party, he said. This shows they are looking out for their own political goals, without regard for historical reality, because 1968 was a nation-wide effort at democratisation, noted Zeman.

Government Approves Anti-Drug Program

AU2008132593 Prague CTK in English 1713 GMT 18 Aug 93

[Text] Prague August 18 (CTK)—The concept and programme of the government anti-drug policies approved by the cabinet today is based on prevention, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told journalists after government session.

The goal is to prevent the situation which has been created in Western Europe, Klaus said. He pointed out the interpretation of the drug problem by the Czech mass media which, in his view, is erroneous. We are not a centre and transfer point for drugs, Klaus said, stressing that the government by no means underestimated the problem.

Government Spokesperson Klara Pospisilova added that the government is not considering legalising so-called soft drugs.

Klaus said that 0.2 deaths per 100,000 people were caused by the use of drugs in the Czech Republic. That is the third lowest drug-caused death rate in Europe, behind only Hungary and Finland. Klaus gave the example of Germany, where the drug toll amounts to 1.6 deaths per 100,000 people, and Switzerland, where the situation is the worst with 4.3 deaths per 100,000 people.

Police Investigate Deal To Supply Arms to Bosnia

AU2008133693 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 19 Aug 93 p 2

[Report by "(km)": "Czechs Involved in Bosnia Arms Deal"]

[Text] Prague— There is a high probability that Czech Republic citizens are involved in the sham transaction to send weapons from Czech arms factories, officially intended for Panama, to war-torn Bosnia. This has been confirmed by a reliable police source.

At present, criminal prosecutions are being initiated by the prosecutor general over the violation of regulations appertaining to the handling of technologies and monitored goods.

According to our source, investigators in this matter are afraid that the culprits will not be convicted. The situation has became more complicated because the Western press published information on the case when it was being investigated.

The spurious deal, whose feigned place of destination was Panama, was mediated by a Spanish firm, Eurounion Gibraltar. This firm ordered 26,800 submachine guns, 5,000 pistols, 128,000 magazines, and 17 million cartridges from an Austrian arms factory, the Czech Arms Factory in Uhersky Brod, and Sellier and Bellot in Vlasim. The binding document—the end-user certificate—indicating Panama's Army as the end user, was signed, without the knowledge of the Panamanian Government, by Viceconsul Victoria Uribe de Cluet in Barcelona.

Although the transaction failed, and the weapons did not leave the Czech Republic, police are investigating the involvement of Czech arms factories in the case.

"People from the arms factories are very experienced. It will be difficult to prove that they knew the end-user certificate was false," our source said.

The source confirmed that the Czech authorities were misled by an Austrian representative of Eurounion Gibraltar, Mr. Robert Breiner. "He presented the end-user certificate to the Czech arms factories, and is likely to have known that the contents of the certificate were false, and that weapons were not for Panama's armed forces, but for Bosnia," he added.

Czech diplomatic circles have confirmed that a special commission of the Panamanian Government was in the Czech Republic, investigating the illegal arms deal. After

an investigation lasting two weeks, the commission allegedly described the case as a shameful scandal.

Statistical Office Issues July Price Data

AU2008132193 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Aug 93 p 8

[Report by Czech Statistical Office, department of Price and Foreign Trade Statistics: "The Development of Prices and the Cost of Living in July"]

[Text] In July consumer prices rose 0.7 percent (against the preceding month). Prices for non-food products rose most sharply, with 1.1 percent, and prices for services moderately, 0.3 percent. A similar increase occurred in food prices, 0.6 percent, and public catering, 0.5 percent. In all the basic groups, slight movements in both directions were recorded, up to about 1 percent, with increases prevailing. Prices rose more sharply only for magazines, 11 percent, recreation and tourist accommodation, 5 percent, while prices for eggs, on the contrary, declined by 5 percent.

The price increases since the beginning of the year (compared with December 1992), amounting to 12.9 percent, was different for different groups, owing to different price increases ensuing from the introduction of the value added tax in January, and also because of the price development in subsequent months. Prices for services rose most sharply, with 19 percent, and prices for public catering, 18.2 percent. Prices for non-food products rose 13.1 percent, and food prices rose only 7.4 percent.

Among food, milk prices have risen most sharply since the beginning of the year, with 25.5 percent, and prices for bread and bakery products have risen between 20 and 24 percent. On the other hand, coffee prices have fallen by 33 percent, and prices for tea by 20 percent. The slight decline in meat prices, 5 percent, was important from the weight point of view. [sentence as published] The most visible price increase in non-food products has been in personal hygiene products, medical products and products sold in drug stores, construction materials, and culture—between 17 and 23 percent, and in the group "recreation, health care, and social facilities," with prices increasing by 38 percent. In the group administration, notary, court, and insurance fees, prices have risen sharply, 20 percent, and also in the group education, culture, health care, sports, and personal services [osobni sluzby].

As a consequence of the development in consumer prices, the cost of living rose slightly in July, by 0.8 percent in households of employees and pensioners, and by 0.7 in households of farmers.

Currency Separation Process To Enter New Phase

AU2008132993 Prague CTK in English 0655 GMT 18 Aug 93

[Text] Prague August 18 (CTK)—The currency separation process will continue in the Czech Republic with August 31 as an expiration date for stamped banknotes of 100,-, 500,- and 1,000 crown denominations.

From August 23, 1993, to May 31, 1994, these banknotes can be exchanged, Martin Svehla, Czech National Bank's spokesman, announced at a press conference on Tuesday [17 August].

July 31 was the expiration date for the unstamped federal banknotes of 50-, 20- and 10-crown denominations and for 50-, 20- and 10-heller coins.

From the total of 65 billion crowns in circulation, almost 51 billion are newly issued coins and banknotes. A total of 12 billion crowns worth banknotes stamped after the separation of Czech and Slovak currencies on February 8 as well as 211 million crowns worth old unstamped banknotes and 1.43 billion crowns worth coins are to be removed from circulation.

Conflicting Data in Czech, Slovak Trade Report

LD2008212893 Prague CTK in English 2023 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Prague, August 20 (CTK)—The Czech Statistical Office, in a report handed over to CTK, blamed the seven billion crowns difference in data on Czech exports to Slovakia and those given by the Slovak Statistical Office on Slovak imports from the Czech Republic on re-exports.

Data on re-exports in the first five months of 1993 showed that exports of goods from the Czech Republic to Slovakia and vice-versa, originating in third countries, were the cause of the difference between the two sources. Imports via Slovakia represented a 1.7 billion crowns worth difference.

Comparing data on the overall Czech exports to Slovakia as a country of final destination, and data on Slovak imports from the Czech Republic as a trading partner, the difference made up only 0.8 billion crowns. When making the same valuation of Slovak exports to the Czech Republic, the difference was 0.4 per cent.

Taking in account the volume of mutual trade, these differences are a minimum, the report stated. Therefore, the Czech Statistical Office proposed to the Customs Union Council to abolish its decision to consider data on imports by the other contractual party as if they were the former party's exports.

The two contractual parties in the customs union used in their data the international term of "country of destination" to express the total value of exports and imports. However, such term cannot be used to compare the registered data, according to the Czech Statistical Office.

Data which has been published this year by the Czech and the Slovak Statistical Offices, therefore differed substantially, according to officials in both statistical offices and customs bodies in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Poll Reveals Apprehension About Economic Issues

AU2308130693 Prague CTK in English 1021 GMT 19 Aug 93

[Text] Prague August 19 (CTK)—When asked by pollsters if they were worried about economic developments in the Czech Republic, 23.9 percent of a sample of Czech people said they were quite worried, 38 percent said they had feelings of insecurity and 29.7 percent said they had no real fears.

Only 8.4 percent of the respondents believed they had nothing to fear from economic changes, according to the poll which was conducted in July by the Center of Empirical Studies (STEM) among 1,493 respondents aged over 18.

Women were more worried than men (67 over 57 percent). Older citizens and less-educated respondents felt more insecure. 31 percent of the less-educated people polled answered that they were definitely worried, while only 18 percent of university graduates had the same feeling. 31 percent of persons aged over 60 felt insecure but only 18 percent of those aged from 18 to 29.

Long-term comparisons with results of previous studies show that the number of people now feeling apprehensive has increased since the post-revolutionary enthusiasm of November 1989.

When speaking in May 1990 about their fears, 49.7 percent of the respondents said they were definitely worried or quite worried, while in June 1991 the figure reached 65.2 percent and a year later as much as 70.8 percent but fell to 61.9 percent in July 1991.

When asked how long they believe it will take for the standard of living in the Czech Republic to reach a satisfactory level, 1 percent of the respondents said in one to two years, while 17.7 percent answered three to five years, 38.1 percent six to ten years, 36.2 percent more than ten years and 6.9 percent said never.

No substantial differences in opinions on the issue were found between men and women. Optimists prevail among more qualified people while respondents with lower education are more pessimistic.

Young people tend to be more optimistic, but even a majority of people in the oldest age group believe that the economy will improve within 10 years (65 percent of those aged from 18 to 29 and 52 percent of those aged 60 or over).

Compared to previous years, opinions on reaching a satisfactory standard of living have remained more or less the same. However, there has been a slight change as people's expectations last year were a little more optimistic than this year when people seem to have sobered up and become more sceptical.

Meciar Discussess Upcoming Visit to Russia

LD2208183193 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Petr Filipovic; first paragraph is announcer's introduction; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] According to Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, agreements on ways of trading, exchange of goods, payments, and the implementation of investment projects, which are also topics of interest to six or seven other countries in Europe, will be the main focus of his working visit to the Russian Federation tomorrow. In Moscow he is expected to meet Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and his first deputy, Oleg Lubov. Talks will also focus, however, on the Russian-Slovak treaty which has recently been at the center of much contention. Petr Filipovic asked the prime minister:

[Filipovic] Prime Minister, in an interview granted to Radiozurnal on 14 August, Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Ivan Laluha said that the adoption of the treaty on friendly cooperation between the Russian Federation and Slovakia is not urgent since economic cooperation with that country is developing anyhow. Many experts, however, point to the need for a guarantee of relations in the economic sphere by the stipulations of a political treaty on friendship and cooperation. Which view is closer to your own?

[Meciar] This is not a question of views but of the expected future developments. Russia is a member of the UN Security Council; Russia is a country which is going through a very difficult period and we want to support the forces that are following the road of democracy; we have and will have extensive economic links with Russia; we expect to reach an agreement on many other issues.

The original assumption was that the treaty would be signed during the visit of President Kovac to Moscow, which was supposed to take place in September, but has been postponed. I have now received a different proposal from the Russian side, that the treaty could be signed or prepared for signing during the visit of President Yeltsin this month. That is also a certain reaction to the situation and to the not always well-founded debate and to the half-hearted approach of those of our politicians who took a shot at foreign policy without weighing the consequences.

Of course, the preparation of the treaty in such a short time is rather demanding, and that is why I am calling a meeting of the chairmen of those political parties that have an interest in the matter. Further, on Monday, I will probably discuss the issue in Moscow and next week, during the visit of Mr. Yeltsin—if these steps are taken in the correct order—the treaty could be signed. Of course, the variants of the treaty are ready, so it is possible to decide on some matters. This would allow us to follow up later.

The interference by the parliament at this stage was unfortunate, unprofessional. It messed up whatever it was possible to mess up. The parliament has the right to either adopt or not adopt the treaty but it is not common for a parliament to start issuing a binding political directive at a time when a treaty is being already processed by officials. After the treaty is signed by the president, it still has to be adopted by parliament and there is always an effort to reach political accord before the signing. And I will try to achieve such accord.

[Filipovic] The mutual trade relations between the Russian Federation and Slovakia are visibly affected by the outstanding debts to our companies. The visit by Oleg Lobov, Russian vice prime minister and minister of industry, to Bratislava in July again confirmed that we were not able to agree with our partners in Moscow even on such things as the overall amount of these debts. Mr. Prime Minister, prior to your visit to the Russian Federation on Monday, have you noticed any signals to the effect that an agreement could be reached in this area?

[Meciar] Of course, this area is very important but it is a matter of the past. We have to look forward. We are not waiving our economic claims, but the settlement of these claims has to run simultaneously with other activities and it must be completed alongside with them. If we conditioned one by the other we would block everything. That is not wise. I see Mr. Lobov's visit differently. His visit was exceptionally successful even with regard to the old claims, since we found ways to settle these claims in dollars and also opened the opportunities for their capitalization on the Russian markets. Raw material resources are accessible as well. But this is a different matter. It lays the foundations for our prosperity in a few years' time. We cannot expect that it will be Slovakia that will be paid back quickly since a similar approach would then need to be implemented in respect to other debtors as well. We have therefore chosen a different strategy and a different approach on these markets [as heard]. It will make the settlement of all claims possible.

As for the old claims, we do not consider these as posing any problem. Still, on the Russian side, there is a certain re-assessment of the matter. A large part of the claims was originally calculated in convertible rubles. However, there is an argument going on today as for the real value of the convertible ruble at the time when the value was calculated. The Russian side is trying to prove that one ruble never equaled one dollar but had always been less. [passage omitted]

Views EC Agreement

LD2008213593 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 20 Aug 93

["Regular" interview with Prime Minister Meciar by correspondent Petr Filipovic in Bratislava on 20 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Filipovic] Prime Minister, at its session on 17 August the Slovak Government approved the European agreement on the association of the Slovak Republic with the EC. This agreement will require legislative changes that should bring us closer and on par with the EC. The public may ask why? What are the benefits?

[Meciar] [passage omitted] This process of rapprochement with Western Europe declared in November '89 and continued ever since is not, of course, a simple one. It needs to develop both with time and in subject matter. This means that we are entering into an agreement with Europe according to which we should be prepared for application for direct admission to the EC by the year 2005.

So 10 years are here for the preparation. If we waste them, the preparatory stage will be longer. From the point of view of the development of our own program, the 10-year horizon is interesting due to the fact that we should not simulate the existing state of affairs in the EC with all its controversies. We must assess and forecast the expected development till 2005 and design our rapprochement in such a way as to allow us to bring our legal, economic, political, and social systems closer together, to make them compatible. Several thousand regulations will have to be changed, almost all technical standards will have to be changed, the organization of trade, production, and services will have to be brought to a higher level to bring the systems closer together.

What happens when a weak economy is linked to a stronger one has been clearly illustrated by the example of the GDR. We want to be a partner to the EC, not somebody with an outstretched hand, waiting for something to drop into it. So, in other words, we have acquired a 10-year program for the development of the Slovak Republic.

[Filipovic] Experts, government officials, and foreign partners are meeting in Presov these days to discuss the future process of privatization in Slovakia. Why was it not until now that the government decided to speak about this topic on such a large scale?

[Meciar] First, privatization is not something that concerns the government alone. It is a matter of interest to everybody. One of the main ideas that I expressed in my introductory speech was that every citizen of the Slovak Republic had the right to participate in privatization. [passage omitted]

We clearly said that we not only had to adopt the necessary legislative amendments to improve privatization but also to mainly depoliticize the process and decriminalize it. This means that the practices introduced into it by criminal elements have no place. Privatization is a matter of concern for the public, and the state and political parties should cease competing for influence in the process because the most decisive thing is the life of the society. The most decisive thing is privatization as such, and there is no sense in its politicization in this way. [passage omitted]

[Filipovic] I would like to ask you one more question, concerning your visit to the Russian Federation. Could you outline the fundamental areas of the issues you will discuss there?

[Meciar] The outlining of the areas depends, above all, on the issue of with whom I will hold talks—with Prime Minister Chernomyrdin or with Lobov, his first deputy. I think one of them will interrupt his holiday because of our talks.

The subject of talks is very important. We have reached the point in our relations with Russia that we can create a model of future economic relations, good ones, that can also be developed on the basis of our experience with other states. This chance is realistically here. The question is whether we will manage to take this to its conclusions.

At the same time, this chance would benefit also the West European countries because it opens for them the access to raw material resources, access to our experience, and it brings gain to our business companies, which may become mixed-type businesses. However, all this calls also for a clarification of our mutual cooperation in other spheres. Though our original intention was not to discuss the Russian-Slovak treaty—due to the uncalled for and rash initiative by Mr. Carnogursky and company—we have to also tackle this issue now, and to tackle it very fast. [passage omitted]

Railroad Development, Reform Reviewed

AU1908143693 Prague CTK in English 0957 GMT 17 Aug 93

[Text] Bratislava August 17 (CTK)—As part of an effort to make the railway system more efficient, the Slovak minister for transport, telecommunications and public works, Roman Hofbauer, has announced a series of price reforms which include a plan to increase the price of commuter tickets by 50 percent.

These were reported after a meeting of the Economic Executive of the Slovak Government on Monday [16 August].

It is expected that the process of price regulation will bring a rise in cargo-carrying fees. The freight section of the Slovak Railways is not loss-making, but these price increases will be used to support passenger transport. This practice will probably continue next year despite the financial section having separate accounts.

The Economic Executive of the Slovak Government also approved the railways' right to obtain a reduction in the tax levied against diesel fuel. One aim of this tax was to collect money for the maintenance of all forms of transport routes in Slovakia and since—in contrast to road-users—the railways have sole responsibility for looking

after their own routes, it was decided that they should not pay a certain portion of the tax.

To coincide with the price deregulation, the Tatra electrical railway and Tatra cable-cars and ski-lifts will become autonomous economic entities from September 1, but, according to Hofbauer, this will not necessarily lead to an increase in prices on these lines as all of them are already in good financial condition.

The Economic Executive also agreed to provide additional subsidies totalling 203 million SOK [Slovak korunas] (about 7 million USD) for passenger-carrying bus routes. However, CSAD (the Czechoslovak State Bus Company) is trying to rationalise those bus routes which are almost identical to those served by the Slovak Railways with the aim of eliminating the duplication of subsidies, Hofbauer said.

This will call for the gradual limiting of several routes, he added.

Hungarian-Populated Town Defies Placename Ruling

LD2108113993 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text] The town of Komarom [Komarno] has acquainted the Council of Europe of its decision to display Hungarian-language placename signs despite the resolution of the Slovak authorities. The settlement's local authority thinks that the Pozsony [Bratislava] government is deliberately fomenting tension and that it is also casting doubt on the fundamental rights of local governments when it removes the Hungarian placename signs of Hungarian-inhabited settlements.

Ships Held on Danube Allowed To Cross Into Hungary

LD2008140193 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] The Yugoslav authorities have already set two Hungarian ships free; thus the "Csepel" and the "Adony" are already at Mohacs with their shipments. The third ship, the "Vac", has passed the blockade at Zimony without trouble, diplomats at the Hungarian Embassy in Belgrade have said.

According to Belgrade sources, the position there has changed thanks to the action of the United Nations and Hungarian organs.

Ships Detained by Protesters

LD2108213593 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Excerpts] The Czepel push-boat, which has been released from the Danube blockade, arrived in Dunaujvaros two hours ago at 2000 exactly. Laszlo Farago reports.

[Farago] Gabor Beke, captain of the Czepel, told the "Late Evening Chronicle" [this bulletin] that he spoke to the commander of the Vac push-boat at 1600. The last Hungarian ship stranded on the Serbian stretch of the Danube has also left Bezdan, and will reach Mohacs [southern Hungary] by the morning. [passage omitted]

Gabor Beke stressed that they did not suffer any serious insults, but at all times they were left uncertain about when they would be allowed to continue their journey. It was not a blockade that held up the Hungarian ships near Belgrade, but simply a few boats of the organization called White Rose demanding that they stop. The protestors were dressed in civilian clothes and were not armed.

By the way, the Serb ships did not hold up the Hungarian ship. The Czepel gave in to the demand, and waited for four to five hours before reaching Belgrade. Thus, contrary to earlier reports, none of the Hungarian ships broke out of the blockade. [passage omitted]

Antall Comments on Situation in Balkans

LD2108083793

[Editorial Report] Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian at 1700 GMT on 20 August carries a 37-minute recorded interview with Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on the occasion of St. Stephen's Day, Hungary's national holiday. The place and date of the interview is not given. The interviewer is an unidentified.

Antall begins by outlining the significance of St. Stephen for him and for his family. He refers to the significance of another important holiday, 23 October, which commemorates the 1956 uprising, and recalls his memories of 20 August 1968 when Soviet troops, with the assistance of Hungarian forces, marched into Prague.

Antall stresses the unity of the Hungarian nation no matter where Hungarians live.

Asked about the change of system in Hungary, Antall describes the changes of 1989-90 as a constitutional revolution and says that Hungary has already created the framework of a parliamentary democracy, a social market economy. He emphasizes the extraordinary burdens of the current transformation stemming from the inherited burdens, the inevitable costs of transformation, and the difficulties arising from the outside world—the collapse of the entire former eastern economy and the world economic recession.

The prime minister envisages Hungary's future as part of a wider Europe, hoping for a future which is somewhere between pessimistic and optimistic forecasts.

Talking about the Yugoslav crisis, Antall says: "I hope that the Yugoslav crisis can be resolved. It is my conviction that it cannot be resolved only in Sarajevo. A solution has to be found in Belgrade and Zagreb, too, where policy is being formed. The war has to be ended because a terrible series of retaliatory actions has evolved. The world bears a great responsibility in that what could have been achieved by peaceful means in 1991—and a lot of things could have been done—is much more difficult to achieve now, after tens of thousands of victims, following so many tragedies.

"That is to say, now, I think, the establishment of a cease-fire is necessary and the bloodshed should be stopped through very firm international cooperation. This matter should be settled by very extensive international monitoring, with the attention of the world policy, with the cooperation of European, U.S., and other countries."

At the end of the interview, Antall recalls examples of Hungary giving shelter to refugees during World War II. He emphasizes that Hungary considers minorities within its he boundaries as sources of enrichment for the country and hopes that other countries will treat Hungarians beyond our borders in a similar way.

Jeszenszky Comments on Borders, Minorities

LD2008192893 Budapest MTI in English 1814 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Bratislava, August 20 (MTI)—It is not Hungary but some of its neighbours that keep the issue of borders on the agenda by telling their own public and the international community that Hungary endeavours to revise its borders, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky told UJ SZO, a Hungarian magazine published in Bratislava.

"It is needless to repeat for the hundredth time that Hungary respects the peace treaties approved and guaranteed by the great powers in 1920 and 1947," he said.

The minister said that, in an effort to build mutual confidence, Hungary and its neighbours should look for a formula which confirms the validity of the territorial clauses of the peace treaties and the Helsinki Final Act.

In his view, only complex treaties comprising all fields of relations have sense. The treaties to be concluded should both cover political, economic, ecological and cultural issues, and guarantee the rights of the ethnic Hungarian minority in the country concerned on a level which the Council of Europe expects and wishes to supervise, Jeszenszky said.

Concerning the misinterpretation of Hungary's resolute stance for the ethnic Hungarian minorities abroad, Jeszenszky said that, over some decades, the communist regimes had almost forbidden to make mention of the minorities and their problems officially. For this reason, it was an unpleasant surprise for the Slovak, Romanian and other societies to realize that there were many ethnic Hungarians in their country, who voted mostly for the Hungarian parties in the free elections. All this generated a kind of fear in the political circles of these countries, the Hungarian foreign minister said.

In Jeszenszky's view, Hungarian-Slovak relations as a whole are better than suggested by press reports. "True, reconciliation is greatly hindered by some grave Slovak provocations against Hungary and the Hungarian minority, including the diverting of the Danube, the inflexible Slovak position on water division, and steps endangering the Hungarian minority's schooling system and its right to use its mother tongue," Jeszenszky said.

Csurka Says Elections 'Deception' of Nation

AU1808131593 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Aug 93 p 5

[MTI report: "According to Csurka, the Elections Are a Deception"]

[Text] The deception of the nation is being prepared and it will be called 1994 elections. The elections and the campaign are conducted so as to keep everything as it already is, Istvan Csurka, chairman of the Hungarian Way Circles Movement, said at the movement's rally in Tokaj on 17 August. In his view, the new government will hold onto power until someone gives it a slap in the face. In this case, it is not a revolution but a strong government that severs all the connections needed in this situation. He emphasized that if the current party structure remains in power then the Constitutional Court will be maintained, immigration to its liking will be permitted, and laws that facilitate foreign ownership of Hungarian land will be enacted.

As far as the health of the prime minister is concerned, Csurka pointed out that, in this decisive situation, this nation needs a perfectly healthy prime minister.

SLD Winner of Primaries in Wrzesnia

WS2308080293 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 0530 GMT 23 Aug 93

[From the "Panorama" newscast]

[Text] The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] has won the first primary elections in Poland. It gained support of almost 34 percent of votes in the commune in Wrzesnia, the Democratic Union [UD] gained 17 percent, while the Labor Union [UP] gained 14 percent. Out of more than 30,000 people entitled to vote, 4,014 people took part in the voting. According to the Institute of Opinion and Market Research (PENTOR), the results from the elections in Wrzesnia approximated the national average. However, many parties were critical of the idea of primary elections saying that the town is not representative and that participation in the primaries is too costly. Representatives of only seven Electoral Committees appeared in Wrzesnia; they were conducting propaganda for their respective parties. Yet, leaders of some other parties showed up, too. In the beginning, interest in the voting was moderate, but after conversations with the politicians, there was a line at the voting box. The primaries in Wrzesnia were modelled after a similar type of venture in the United States. KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] which had not agreed to participate in the primaries, protested against the Confederation's name being used in Wrzesnia, and announced a lawsuit over the issue. [video shows people marching on the street, a parade, citizens voting, a speaker under a banner of SLD, Jan Krzysztof Bielecki].

Government Moves To Release Poles Arrested in U.S.

LD2008224993 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2200 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] A Polish Government memorandum concerning the release of five Poles accused by the American authorities of illegal arms sales to Iraq has been submitted to a New York court. The document describes how American customs agents violated Poland's laws and sovereignty by setting a trap for Polish citizens on the territory of a foreign country and by bringing about their arrest and extradition to the United States.

The memorandum is modelled on the case of Austrian citizen Heinz Golicek, who was released from an American prison after a representation by the Austrian Government.

Privatization Minister Opposes BBWR Bond Proposal

LD2008194193 Warsaw PAP in English 1835 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Szczecin, Aug. 20—Minister of Privatization Janusz Lewandowski said during a press conference here on Friday that the proposal put forward by the Non-Party Reform Bloc (BBWR) to issue inscribed credit investment bonds worth 300 million zlotys was "dangerous for Polish reforms and for the future of this country."

The BBWR, which presented the proposal during a press conference devoted to its programme in Warsaw on Thursday, said such bonds were to allow all adult Poles to bid for state property.

Lewandowski described the BBWR idea as a "typical pre-election slogan" which does not lead to anything and said he hoped electors would not be taken in by the offer.

Polish, Swedish Arms Factories Discuss Cooperation

LD1908131893 Warsaw PAP in English 1146 GMT 19 Aug 93

[Text] Stockholm, Aug. 19—Polish and Swedish armaments factories are conducting negotiations to cooperate in producing weapons and military equipment both for domestic markets and for export, Polish Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz told newsmen at the end of his three-day official visit to Sweden.

The Swedish Parliament and Government are to take final decision at the beginning of August. The Swedish side is very much interested in cooperation with Poland, said Onyszkiewicz adding that it was Sweden that initiated the talks.

Onyszkiewicz and his Swedish counterpart Anders Bjoerck also discussed European security particularly in the Baltic Sea region. Sweden supported a Polish idea to set up a council of the Baltic states.

UP Election Chief on 'Rather Quiet' Campaign

WS2308053993 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14-15 Aug 93 p 3

[Interview with Tomasz Nalecz, chief of the election headquarters for the Labor Union, by Eliza Olczyk; place and date not given: "We Are Poor"]

[Text] [Olczyk] Is the Labor Union [UP] waging an election campaign? If it is, I must say it is hard to see.

[Nalecz] We are indeed not very conspicuous. However, we are waging a very intensive campaign, even though it is rather quiet and unrewarding. The Electoral Law left us no choice: We were collecting signatures under lists with our candidates; it is the most effective type of campaigning. Apart from that, we found out that people do not know anything about us. When they heard "Labor Union," they would often reply "we have already given our signatures to the Union," having the Democratic Union in mind. Other people, for the same reason, threatened that they would never sign anything for the Union; when we explained that the Labor Union's leaders are Bujak, Bugaj, Malachowski, then many of them already knew who we were talking about.

[Olczyk] This follows that you should be grateful to the authors of the Electoral Law that they made you active in towns and cities and forced you to meet people.

[Nalecz] Yes, I agree with that statement. We can really thank them that we had to begin our election campaign much earlier than other parties.

I believe that collecting signatures allowed us to break through the barrier of ignorance vis-a-vis our organization. Besides, we had to establish structures in those voivodships in which we had none. That is not an easy task, especially if you have no money.

The Electoral Law also forced us to field candidates in all constituencies. If it were not for the 5-percent limit, I do not think we would have fielded candidates in all constituencies; however, in such a case we had to field as many as several hundred of them.

[Olczyk] Why do the UP lists include Arnold Superczynski, the man was recognized in that photograph taken during the training of Security Service and militia functionaries in Swider?

[Nalecz] It is a consequence of democratic procedures which are binding within UP. I have heard it said that UP is a private grange owned by Ryszard Bugaj. However, if that were the case, Mr. Superczynski would probably not have been included on our list. The Lublin constituency decided to give him a chance and it argued strongly for it. In the National Council Presidium we had serious doubts concerning his candidacy. Many of us thought that police, the Army, and the administration should indeed be apolitical. Powerful institutions should, in general, be kept at a distance from politics, because they may influence it. We decided that we should turn down the Policemen's Trade Union or individual functionaries; however, constituencies decided that this would be undemocratic.

[Olczyk] Candidates must submit declarations as to whether or not they were collaborators with the secret services. Can you say with certainty that Arnold Superczynski was not a collaborator with the Security Service?

[Nalecz] Those who were not very happy with the candidacy of Arnold Superczynski tried to stop Lublin with a similar argument. In reply they heard: "Dear Gentlemen, do not try to excel Minister Macierewicz in file checking. It was Macierewicz who offered Superczynski the post of commandant in Lublin." It was an argument which effectively overpowered Ryszard Bugaj, because it is really difficult to compete with Macierewicz in the area of file checking.

[Olczyk] The election campaign that you waged two years ago, still as "Labor Solidarity," did not bear much fruit. Have you drawn any conclusions from that?

[Nalecz] "Labor Solidarity" did not really wage an election campaign at that time; therefore, the four deputies that it managed to place in the Sejm were a real success. Campaigns are waged with money, which we did not have then, nor do we have today. I hope people will understand our miserable financial condition. Many of them had to learn to live in poverty.

We will say it openly on television: We are not buying time on radio and television, and our campaign is probably the poorest, because we are a budget sector party; therefore, we are just like the entire budget sector.

[Olczyk] Do you think this will convince the voters?

[Nalecz] We have no other choice. Since we do not have the money, what can we do? I hope that our strong points are our program to protect employees' interests, and the people—our deputies—who have adversaries but who also enjoy considerable respect. Bugaj for his knowledge of economics, Malachowski for a kind of moral determination, which has become almost naive; for example, the attempt to persuade file-checking supporters that they are doing wrong, as a result of which he was slightly jostled around in the Castle Square. Then comes Bujak, for being different from the other two.

Opinion polls fill us with optimism about our election prospects.

[Olczyk] I suppose you realize that those opinion polls are taken today. However, when other parties begin their aggressive campaigns, leaving you out of the limelight, the opinion poll results may change quite a bit.

[Nalecz] I agree with that. However, I believe that what will most influence the election campaign is television. The time spent on television will actually be very advantageous for UP just because we are not a well-known party and many people will simply find out about us. The experience that we gained when we were collecting signatures shows that people do not know UP as much as is indicated by the various preelection opinion polls.

[Olczyk] How can you explain this?

[Nalecz] I was amazed. I cannot explain it.

[Olczyk] From where are you getting the money for your campaign?

[Nalecz] We rely on the modest resources of our people. We asked that overdue party subscriptions be paid, which, with a few thousand members, yielded some money.

[Olczyk] They paid?

[Nalecz] Some did, others did not. We printed a few thousand fund-raising stamps, worth several dozen million zlotys. The first batch was purchased very quickly.

However, the main source of our campaign funds are payments and loans that we receive from our candidates. Every person running on our ticket makes a payment of 750,000 zlotys to UP, and then loans us 2,250,000 zlotys. If we enter the Parliament, all of the candidates will get their money back. Those candidates who get to the Parliament will be obliged, if the costs of the campaign

are not fully returned, to earmark at least five salaries that will be given to pay off those who did not become deputies.

Our lists will include approximately 450 candidates. If we multiply it by three, then theoretically, we should receive approximately 1 billion zlotys. However, I do not think we will be lucky enough to acquire such a sum. Our candidates are primarily not very well-to-do. Someone who has to mend his shirt and is happy because the hole is in the back rather than the front, does not really have such a sum of money at his disposal. Most of them reluctantly ask for an exemption from this loan, and some really must do it. So far we have received over 200,000 million zlotys from candidates. If we manage to receive over 400,000 million, I will be very satisfied. I believe that the fund-raising stamps, subscriptions, and payments from individual benefactors (there are such payments) should in all total some 500-600 million zlotys.

[Olczyk] How are you going to spend the money?

[Nalecz] First of all on leaflets and the television campaign. Television only supplies the time slot; we must make the programs, which is very expensive.

[Olczyk] Do you not yet have leaflets?

[Nalecz] We are going to increase the leaflet campaign in September. We do not want a noisy campaign, promising the moon, or a campaign that would be aggressive toward others. What we want is a substantive campaign, full of content, discussions, and meetings with other parties. We also want to suggest that other parties organize discussions with us on television.

We will not conceal the fact that our opponents in this campaign are the liberals; this is due to their economic program which we think is a bad solution for Poland. Incidentally, the liberals admit as much themselves; whenever we hear one of the liberals' slogans, it turns out immediately that it is a slogan of UP—1 million new jobs, tax benefits. Bugaj says that he already has difficulties wording our program because the liberals have taken over most of his proposals. We would like to tell this straight to the liberals' faces.

[Olczyk] Does this mean that you are giving up the idea of meetings with voters?

[Nalecz] We certainly are not. However, we have no illusions. The number of television viewers will be far greater than the number of people who would come to our election meetings. We want to take advantage of aid from trade unions, stand in front of factories, and hand out leaflets to people. Someone may become interested, and perhaps he will want to discuss some issues. We will try to think how to reach employees' milieus, first of all those disoriented and disillusioned workers. We intend to do this in September.

[Olczyk] Then you are going to be late, compared to other parties. The Confederation for an Independent Poland, for instance, has already begun canvassing.

[Nalecz] We do not support the idea of canvassing, phoning people, persistently persuading them to vote for our party. Therefore, we are not going to go from door to door and canvas.

[Olczyk] Who is going to produce your television programs?

[Nalecz] We do not know that yet. We will be able to allocate between 150 and 200 million zlotys for it. That is not much. I think that we will try to find some UP supporter who could do this for half price.

[Olczyk] This does not sound optimistic. Are you not going to get a bank credit to finance the campaign?

[Nalecz] We believe that one must get such credits to fuel production, to revive industry, not to finance politics.

[Olczyk] Will you not regret it if you lose for purely financial reasons?

[Nalecz] We will regret it all right. I am convinced, however, that a strong party defending employees' rights will function in Poland anyway. That is inevitable. People will be increasingly convinced of the old-fashioned view on reality; namely, that behavior is determined by elementary, existential factors.

[Olczyk] Existence determines awareness?

[Nalecz] I did not want to quote that statement, however, this is the case. I am convinced that even if we did not enter the Parliament, UP will not disappear.

SLD Campaign Chief on Elections, Fund-Raising

WS2308053593 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14-15 Aug 93 p 3

[Interview with Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, chief of the election headquarters for the Democratic Left Alliance, by Eliza Olczyk; place and date not given—questions printed in boldface]

[Text] [Olczyk] "Do not stand on the side, go to the left"— that is one of election slogans of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. You also have other slogans, such as "SLD is a reliable partner—Anastazja P." [author of a scandalous book on deputies]

[Cimoszewicz] I am not going to comment on that, but only because of who the person is who said it; on its own, the slogan is good.

[Olczyk] I have heard you have more funny slogans like this.

[Cimoszewicz] Yes, they come about quite spontaneously. For example, in Kalisz I heard the following one: "You have to take a step to the left before you can head

straight." Our main slogan is "It does not have to be this way any longer." But we give local units great freedom in conducting their campaigns.

[Olczyk] Does conducting an election campaign require a lot of money?

[Cimoszewicz] Yes, but it is not so much organizing a campaign as communicating. That is what really costs a lot. The Electoral Law provides parties with free time on public television, but to fill that time with something more than just bodies talking in a television studio, you must use the services of professional firms, and that unfortunately is very expensive. I also have a feeling that private film and television companies have raised their prices, taking advantage of the campaign.

We chose one of the most money-saving offers from among those which were submitted to us, but even with that, preparing about 60-minutes worth of programming will cost more than 1 billion zlotys. Posters are expensive, too, and even promoting them, I mean renting big billboards for posters, costs a lot of money. That means hundreds of millions of zlotys, but we have to come up with it.

We are all aware that communication through the mass media is of great significance before elections. It is true that research on television-viewing habits during the previous campaign indicated that no more than 10 percent of the population regularly watched election programs, but at the same time sociological research indicated that more than 60 percent of those who took part in the elections, to a smaller or greater extent, made up their minds based on what they had seen on television.

[Olczyk] How much money do you have for the campaign?

[Cimoszewicz] Our accounts are far from what we need. We are predicting that the campaign will cost several billion zlotys, whereas last week we had about 750 million, and that is exclusively from payments from organizations included within the SLD.

We adopted a rule that each organization must contribute 10 million zlotys to the SLD fund for each candidate submitted on the list. Unfortunately, many organizations have problems meeting that obligation. If 10 million zlotys were contributed for each candidate, we would have 5 billion zlotys, whereas in reality we have only as much as I mentioned.

[Olczyk] Ten million zlotys is quite a sum, so organizations included within SLD must be rich.

[Cimoszewicz] Yes, that is a lot of money, but we arrived at that figure based on a simple calculation of predicted expenses. It is hard. We expect the organizations to collect money, or else the candidate himself will have to pay it out of his own pocket. There is nothing we can do about it. There is no source from which we can take the money.

[Olczyk] Is that an election-time loan, or a donation to SLD? The Electoral Law provides for partial reimbursement of election expenses.

[Cimoszewicz] We have not yet decided what to do with possible reimbursement money. Many organizations are hoping they will get back the money they are having to spend now. That would be only logical. On the other hand, next year we will have self-government elections, which will also cost a lot of money, while the Electoral Law does not provide for any kind of reimbursement in that case. That is why it would be good if we could save some of the money for the future.

[Olczyk] You also did some fund raising. How is that endeavor going?

[Cimoszewicz] As far as I know, the intention was to raise 4 billion zlotys. We have word from local agencies that in many cities the fund raising has been going well. We adopted a rule that the money raised this way will be spent on covering the cost of the campaign at the local level.

[Olczyk] There is also a rumor that you issued some stocks or bonds....

[Cimoszewicz] That was the initiative of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP], and has nothing to do with the SLD election campaign. As far as I know, the idea is not new. The SdRP intended to raise money for publishing that way. However, there is no legal or formal link between possible money raised by SdRP and SLD activities.

[Olczyk] Do you have anything special in store for the SLD election campaign?

[Cimoszewicz] All ideas of this kind influence emotions. But in a society like ours, which is not very experienced in making use of its rights and in fulfilling democratic obligations, playing with emotions leads to results which disappoint the citizens. For that reason, we do not want to use such mechanisms. It is very possible that our campaign will be quite boring. We would like to talk as much as possible about our program, about ideas on what could be done in Poland.

[Olczyk] Have you done any research on how to conduct a campaign and reach the voters as effectively as possible?

[Cimoszewicz] We have not done such research ourselves because of the cost factor. We tend to rely on our own experiences more. It is obvious for us that nowadays one should make campaigns more individualistic, try to personally reach the largest possible number of potential voters. We make our candidates sensitive to that. Most of them has no experience whatsoever in election campaigns. They usually think that among a candidate's obligations are organizing meetings with voters, and that it is enough if we wait for the people to come to us. Candidates also tend to campaign in groups. That is not a good idea.

Meetings should, of course, be organized, but in this way you can only reach 1 or 2 percent of citizens. Experience also shows that whenever popular politicians or SLD leaders show up, you have huge numbers of people coming, but when meetings are organized by little-known candidates, there are relatively few people coming. This is further proof of the irrationality of such measures. It is no coincidence that in countries with longer traditions of democratic elections, candidates canvass voters, they try to talk to them in their homes, in a store, on the street. That is what must be done.

[Olczyk] That idea has already been bought and implemented by the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN].

[Cimoszewicz] Well, the technique itself is no guarantee of anything. As we can see from KPN's experience, the fact that you knock on the door is no guarantee that someone will open it, that they will be willing to listen to you, not to mention vote for you. It is good to address information to those social groups from which, most probably, you can expect stronger support than from others.

I do not hide the fact that we will address our individual offers more to circles of senior citizens and pensioners, to the budget sector, to the unemployed (especially those who were deprived of the right to unemployment benefits), and to tenants who cannot afford to pay their rent, rather than to other social groups who are better off. In any event, I think it is true that those who are happy with their lives should vote for the government now in power, while the opposition should look for support among people who are not happy with their lot.

[Olczyk] Does that mean that you will also canvas, just not in every household?

[Cimoszewicz] If that is the way our candidates act, that will be very reasonable on their part. We are not, however, as strictly disciplined an organization as some political parties, and we will not decide the issue through a decision by the SLD management. Political scientists will inform candidates of the most efficient ways of conducting a campaign. Whether they decide to use those techniques, whether they believe what they are told, that is their business.

[Olczyk] The SLD has a permanent electorate which is quite old, in terms of the people's age. Are you doing anything to gain new supporters?

[Cimoszewicz] We are convinced it is enough if we do not make blunders ourselves, for our electorate to be bigger in the current elections than last time. Subsequent government teams have been working hard for that for several years now, and it is to them that we are most grateful for our political success.

We would like to gain a broader electorate, but we will not appeal to certain groups of voters, although we are sorry to have so little support among them. For instance, support for us among unskilled laborers is half the national average. We will have, however, to try to reach those people using simplified slogans and playing with emotions, whereas we do not want to do that. Contrary to what has often been said about us, we are not a populist group. We try to reach people in a rational manner.

Those political groups which will win the elections thanks to easy promises, are preparing themselves for a suicidal death, because you have to think not only about the elections on 19 September, but also about all the subsequent ones. These subsequent elections will be a chance for having politicians square up with voters regarding their preelection promises.

[Olczyk] Everybody thinks they have the best ideas for Poland; so do you. Is implementing that idea not worth using such means?

[Cimoszewicz] Nobody has the right to reason along the lines of "the end justifies the means," even if that person wants to achieve the best possible results during the elections. We will not appeal to emotions.

Democratic Union Presents Investment Plan

LD1908140993 Warsaw PAP in English 1305 GMT 19 Aug 93

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 19—The Democratic Union (UD) presented at a news conference on Thursday its proposal to set up the Guarantee Fund for Privatisation and Development and outlined its concept of privatisation by instalments. Both proposals, consulted with the Polish Business Council, aim to promote Polish investors and increase their capital in privatised companies.

The Fund for Privatisation and Development is to support modernisation and restructuring of small and medium-sized companies. The fund will be financed by foreign financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD).

The fund will provide financial assistance to credible Polish investors, who would have to pay back 20 per cent of the prize of a privatised company in the first instalment and the remaining amount during 10 years. The UD also want privatised companies to be put on auction to avoid possible misunderstandings and corruption charges.

Bishop: Church Will Not Get Involved in Politics

WS2308134693 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1910 GMT 12 Aug 93

[Interview with Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek, secretary of the conference of the Polish episcopate, by Aleksander Geryn, identified via screen caption; place and date not given; from "Only on One" program—recorded]

[Text] [Geryn] Two months ago, the Conference of the Polish Episcopate appealed for two things: mass participation in the elections, and observing the rules of fair play during the election campaign. Does this campaign, the way it has been conducted up to now, meet the expectations of the church?

[Pieronek] You will be surprised, but I have just returned from my vacation, and I really cannot take a position on measures that were taken over the past three weeks. I only received bits and pieces of information on this topic, so it is difficult for me to answer this question.

[Geryn] During the previous election campaign, the church did not always remain neutral, and it quite clearly took positions favoring some political parties. What can we expect from the church during this election campaign? Will it remain neutral?

[Pieronek] What you just said is your opinion, and I do not think I can share it completely. For many years, the attitude of the Episcopate on this issue has been unequivocal, namely that the church will not get involved in election campaigns. If there are cases of some priests doing that, that is then the priests' personal responsibility. That is not the church as a whole.

[Geryn] But as regards politicians who invoke the church's authority ....

[Pieronek, interrupting] They themselves take the responsibility for that. And it is a known thing that they do not have the support they claim to have, because they simply cannot have it.

[Geryn] Generally speaking, what does the church expect from the current election campaign?

[Pieronek] Truth and honesty. I do not recognize the principle of the end justifies the means. As far as the good of the country is concerned, it requires speaking the truth, and treating the opponent as a man, that means respecting his dignity. These are difficult rules, but we need them very much.

Spiroiu on Possibility of NATO Bases

AU2208192693 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 18 Aug 93 p 3

[Article by Emilian Blaj: "If the Parliament and the President Agree, NATO Bases Will Be Deployed in Romania"]

[Text] Although the visit paid to Romania by Sir Richard, president of the NATO Military Committee, was obscured by the railroad workers' strike, it is still of major importance. After the marshall was received by President Iliescu, Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu, who attended the talks in his capacity as Romania's Minister of National Defense, stated to the press in reference to the possibility of setting up NATO bases in Romania: "No action has been taken in this respect and nothing has been planned for the future, however, if the parliament and the president decide in favor of such deployment, this possibility will not be excluded."

In accordance with this declaration and confirmed by the statement made by Foreign Minister Theodor Melescanu, who requested that Romania be accepted as a NATO member with full rights, one can conclude that from a military point of view our country has a clear destination. Marshall Frederick Richard Vincent said that "Romania is the country with the most extensive military cooperation program with NATO." This assessment propelled us, from a strategical point of view, to first place in this region. The created situation, which has been politically exploited to the maximum, might bring about great economic benefits. The only obscure aspect of this issue is the new military treaty that is going to be signed by our country with Russia. However, according to our latest information, the treaty with Russia is conceived in such a way as to be profitable to both sides.

The NATO seminar that will take place in Bucharest in October will be revealing in this respect. On that occasion, Romania's preference will take concrete shape. The marshall's visit confirmed—if there was still need for confirmation—the essential role played by our country in the Balkans. The West is counting on this region, which is like a buffer zone compared to Asian instability. NATO officials believe that in the future, Romania will fit in the best possible way into the parameters of political and economic stability because in spite of all the difficulties the great majority of our citizens favor democracy and our integration into the Western system of values. From a geographic point of view, our country's position and the homogeneous character of our people have also played an important role in this respect. In conclusion, we are convinced that we have almost gotten hold of the great prize, a prize that we have to use properly, that is, to solve problems of general interest and not as we have been used to, to fulfill petty and party-minded goals.

In order to demonstrate that our affirmations are far from being gratuitous, we conclude with a statement made by the marshall: "I am interested in learning the situation in Yugoslavia from Romania's angle, a country with a very important role to play in this region. We highly appreciate Romania's contribution to the implementation of UN sanctions against Yugoslavia."

Shipping Company Protests Halting of Convoys

AU2008115493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] The Giurgiunav SA Danube shipping company has faxed us a message stressing that on 6 August its tugboat Agnita and its six barges loaded with phosphate en route to Austria were illegally blocked in Belgrade. On 20 August another vessel of the company, Filiasi-4, towing seven barges loaded with iron ore intended for Austria, was also halted in Belgrade.

Giurgiunav SA has paid transit taxes worth $26,085 to the Yugoslav authorities for the two convoys' passage through the Yugoslav sector of the Danube. In order to prevent other vessels of the company from being stopped in that sector, two other convoys of Giurgiunav SA are currently anchored at Moldova Veche [in Romania].

The fax signed by Benone Stan, the general director of the company, emphasizes that these actions [by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia authorities] are causing huge losses and could lead to the cancellation of the transportation contracts concluded by Giurgiunav SA with its Austrian and German partners.

Parliament Summoned for Extraordinary Session

AU2008133393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0942 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/8/1993—The Chamber of Deputies and the Senate of Romania are called in extraordinary session on August 30, 1993, at 1000 [0700 GMT].

According to Romania's Constitution, Parliament's autumn session starts at the beginning of September. The Chamber of Deputies and the Senate may meet also in extraordinary sessions at the request of Romania's president, of each chamber's standing bureau, or at the request of at least one third of the total number of deputies or senators.

At the close of the previous (spring) ordinary session, a request made by opposition deputies to call an extraordinary session had not been granted because of imperfections in the observance of the regulation of unfolding the extraordinary sessions of the two chambers.

Manolescu Predicts Cabinet's Demise 'Next Fall'

AU2008193893 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 18 Aug 93 p 3

[Part two of interview with Nicolae Manolescu, president of the Civic Alliance Party, PAC, by Mihail Mihailescu; place and date not given: "We Live As We Are Ruled"]

[Excerpts] [Mihailescu] Please describe the disastrous Vacaroiu government.

[Manolescu] It is very easy to describe this government, which took exactly those measures that should not have been taken and avoided the measures that were absolutely necessary. With the censure motion presented in Parliament a few months ago—when I also addressed the joint session of the two chambers—the opposition did not want to warn the government or president, but the entire Romanian electorate in connection with the basic inability of the Vacaroiu government to do anything at all. At that time, we warned that, in the absence of realistic economic measures and just by shifting moneys from one place to another, resorting to all sorts of gimmicks, and trying to postpone the reform, we will reach a state of crisis from which we will no longer know how to get out. The crisis is in full swing right now and a kind of denouement might occur in the coming weeks.

It is absolutely obvious that you cannot progress toward a market economic by trying to preserve as much as possible of the past and by restoring as many people and structures—that were crushed by the evolutionary process—as possible. [passage omitted] Now, the Vacaroiu government is reaping the fruits of its own deeds. It is quite likely that the entire Romanian society will be the grave digger of this government next fall.

[Mihailescu] We believe that power in Romania has been placed, and still is, in President Ion Iliescu's hands. What, in your opinion, is the meaning of this period dominated by the asynchronous Iliescu?

[Manolescu] Of course, the Constitution allows Mr. Iliescu to control practically all important sectors and—I must admit it—he is doing it quite well, from the viewpoint of his interests. Therefore, I can only congratulate Mr. Iliescu on being an extremely able politician. Unfortunately, ability does not also mean far-reaching horizons or other things, neither does it solve problems. Consequently, Mr. Iliescu will have to pay sooner or later for his half measures, feeble endeavors, hesitations, and so forth. [passage omitted] Therefore, even through he might be well in control of the Army, the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI], Parliament, and government—in other words, in control of all state power levers—Mr. Iliescu's hands are nevertheless trembling and, shortly, we will notice that these levers are beginning to slip through his hands. [passage omitted]

[Mihailescu] Is the opposition weak? Why is it not able to make a bigger overall impression?

[Manolescu] In my opinion, the opposition is not weaker or stronger; it was bound to be in the current situation. On the one hand, it continues to be pretty much divided; this is quite understandable, since setting up one or more parties and binding together several parties with generally similar interests is a venture that cannot be done in 2-3 years. I do not want to go into details here, but there are all kinds of reasons, ranging from the moral to the financial. On the other hand, the opposition still appears weak in the eyes of the public because the people ask it to do something that it cannot possibly accomplish, namely to promote, in Parliament, laws that can deblock the economic situation and create acceptable living conditions.

People forget that the opposition is in opposition, hence in a minority in Parliament—this is actually the meaning of being in opposition; therefore, it is not up to it to achieve that. Of course, this does not mean that the opposition has done everything possible at the parliamentary level. More could have been done, of course, but I am afraid that even if that had been the case, we would not have been in a much better position than we are now. [passage omitted]

We will have to convince the man in the street of two things: first, that there can be no slow-going transition (this proved to be impossible), in several stages, but that the measures should be taken all at once, with the paradoxical result being that the cost of the transition is lower and shorter; and second, the people should be told that current the social and economic situation, prices, inflation, and unemployment are the cause, not the effect. The cause is of a political nature. The political option of the current rulers is wrong, hence all these hardships. [passage omitted] People should be made aware of the fact that, if the opposition comes to power, this is tantamount to a change of political options, consequently it would mean a chance of reducing the present-day hardships. [passage omitted]

PSDR Condemns Handling of Strike

AU2008115593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Today during the news conference of the Social Democratic Party of Romania [PSDR], Mr. Constantin Avramescu, the vice president of the party, said that the analysis of the events that occurred during the strike of the train engineers shows that during that period the government acted superficially and with lack of adroitness, professional competence, and foresight.

As a consequence of this, Mr. Avramescu requested that, on the basis of Article 106 of Romania's Constitution, the government should present a report to Parliament on the events in question.

Talking about the issues discussed during the [18 August] meeting of the Council for Ethnic Minorities, namely its suggestion that bilingual inscriptions should be posted in areas that are inhabited by ethnic minorities, Mr. Avramescu stated that such a government decision would be in accordance both with constitutional stipulations and with international documents signed by Romania, our correspondent, Elena Perdichi, reports.

'Sources' Claim Government Sold Libyan Oil Field

AU2008180793 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 16 Aug 93 p 8

[Report by Cristian Pirvulescu: "Romania's Government Has Secretly Sold Its Oil Field in Libya"]

[Text] A remarkable sale of Romanian assets abroad has secretly taken place over recent days, involving the Libyan state (through its national oil company), the Romanian state (through its Rompetrol foreign trade company), and Spain (through its Repsol SA company). The sale was of the rights to a very rich crude oil field bearing the code name NC-115, which the Romanian state had leased in 1980 for a minimum of 25 years.

The cooperation contract subsequently leasing the field was signed by Nicolae Ceausescu (which is why the code name is identical to his initials) and secretly ratified by the governments of the two countries. The contents of the document were also classified as top secret. The single existing public document was Decree 356 of 1980 on the establishment of the venture.

Immediately after the ratification of that document, they set up the Rompetrol of Libya company, which was a Libyan-Romanian joint venture and which proceeded with testing the field and the setting up of oil wells. Between 1981 and 1987, they drilled some 30 wells and found that the oil field was very rich.

Until 1989 the payments of the Romanian side were made by means of arms deliveries for the government of Colonel al-Quadhdhafi, but deliveries were discontinued after that year, and so production in Libya was also partially discontinued.

Even though Romania's Government by its Decision 23 of January 1991 transferred all the rights related to that venture from Rompetrol to the Petrom Public Corporation, the selling of the assets was nonetheless completed by Rompetrol, because the Libyans would not negotiate with any other company. A beneficiary of this Romanian investment in Libya was the Spanish Repsol SA company, the largest oil company on the Iberian Peninsula. The negotiations were held in Bucharest, Tehran, and Madrid.

Our sources, who wished to remain anonymous, also revealed that the Rompetrol of Libya company was one of the sources of the funds that went to the Ceausescu clan's secret holdings in Swiss bank accounts.

We do not yet know whether or not the selling of those assets is detrimental to Romania. We will produce further details.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 23 August

WA2308181393

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Leaders in Bosnia comment on peace proposal ... Bosnian Croats block UN relief convoy from entering Muslim area of Mostar ... Krajina Serbs reportedly foil attempt to reopen Maslenica bridge ... Muslim party in Croatia denies terrorist activities.

DIPLOMATIC

LEADERS COMMENT ON PROPOSAL (AFP, Sarajevo Radio, TANJUG, Zagreb Radio): AFP reports modified peace plan for Bosnia to grant Serbs over 52 percent of territory, Muslims 30 percent, Croats 17 percent. Bosnian President Izetbegovic, according to Sarajevo Radio, says he is "not satisfied" with results of talks, but adds that territory granted to Muslims is "best" and "most developed part" of country. Izetbegovic announces Bosnian Assembly to vote on proposal 27 August. Belgrade Radio quotes Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic as calling plan "only solution" that will "satisfy all three peoples," while Bosnian Croat leader Boban, according to Zagreb Radio, says only alternative to signing agreement is "general chaos." (AU2008181493, LD2208203793, LD2208192293, AU2008162293, LD2108163993)

HUMANITARIAN AID

UN AID BLOCKED FROM MOSTAR: TANJUG reports Bosnian Croats blocking UN relief aid from entering Muslim area of Mostar until Croats "held prisoner in Muslim camps" are released. UNHCR spokeswoman says 55,000 Muslims on "brink of starvation" in city. Convoy of medicine delivered to Muslims on 21 August. (LD2208195793)

MILITARY

SERBS FOIL OPENING OF BRIDGE: TANJUG reports Krajina Serb forces "foiled" attempt by Croatian Government to reopen Maslenica bridge by firing 15 shells from neighboring hilltops. (LD2208200493)

POLITICAL

MUSLIM PARTY LEADER DENIES TERRORISM (Zagreb TV): Chairman of Muslim Party of Democratic Action in Croatia denies charges by Zagreb TV that members of the party have engaged in terrorist activities in Croatia. (LD2108194293)

Izetbegovic 'Not Satisfied' With Results of Talks

LD2208203793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] I am returning from this conference in Geneva dissatisfied, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, declared at the beginning of today's news conference. He added:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] We are not satisfied with what was offered in Geneva. As I said upon my arrival in Geneva and in the course of the negotiations that went on for almost 25 days, the decision on what we were offered will not be reached there but here, in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The task awaiting me over the next couple of days will be to organize this get-together and analyze the good and bad aspects of what we have accomplished in Geneva.

I believe that this body will consist of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, with the addition of a larger number of public, cultural, and political figures. By this, I mean a certain number of scientists, personalities from the cultural scene, religious and political figures, prominent authors. It is important to note that representatives of the Army are also welcome.

There is a very strong possibility that the gathering will take place in Zenica, so that everyone who wishes to attend may come. As I said, as far as I am concerned, I will try to shed light on the key details of these talks, to analyze what has been put down in writing, to recall how the talks progressed, and especially to analyze the good and bad aspects of what we accomplished there. At first glance, the bad aspects predominate.

The principles governing the maps are the most important of all. The bad thing about them is that important regions—regions that have been ethnically cleansed by the Serbian occupation army, and Serbian formations in general—remain under Serbian control. This will probably be the main subject of all discussions.

However, we should not ignore the fact that some good results have been scored in these talks as well. First and foremost, I believe that Bosnia-Herzegovina has been saved as a state. Second, military activities have subsided over the past 20 days. There has been less destruction and, what is most important, fewer casualties. The humanitarian situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina has improved to some extent.

Furthermore, as far as the offered solution is concerned, I believe that two points are worthy of mention. The first concerns Sarajevo, whose division has been prevented for the time being. We have postponed this. We have a similar situation in the case of Mostar. If there were ever two cosmopolitan cities in this part of the world, then these cities are Mostar and Sarajevo. We spent many long hours negotiating to save the souls of these two cities. If there is a defeated party in these talks, then this party is Europe—not only us.

I will wind up this brief statement by saying that, despite all the odds, we managed to save Bosnia-Herzegovina, despite the gross inhumanity imposed on us and despite the astonishing indifference and passivity of the international community. [end recording]

[Announcer] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly session will be held as soon as the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] guarantees that all prominent public and political figures taking part can count on unhindered passage out of Sarajevo.

Asked whether he will nevertheless suggest that the Assembly sign the offered document, Izetbegovic replied that he will not, but he will urge that the negotiations in Geneva continue. Maps are still the most contentious segment in the negotiations. Asked whether this is a success or a failure for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Izetbegovic replied:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] This 30 percent may be unsatisfactory for Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it is nevertheless the best part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, its most developed part. In any case, having a part around Tuzla, having 100 square kilometers around Tuzla, or 100 square kilometers around (?Grahovo) is not the same.

Despite that, I must say that we are not satisfied with what we have been offered. Thus far we have not calculated in percentages; we have not accepted, have not allowed, the imposition of negotiations on percentages which belong or do not belong to us. (?Our position is clear to the world). We are against the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three national republics. We believe this does not suit Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that something indivisible should not be carved up. [end recording]

[Announcer] President Alija Izetbegovic told the news conference upon his return from Geneva: Yet another aggravating circumstance for the work of our delegation was the fact that the Croatian part of our delegation predominantly leaned toward Boban's proposals, not those of our presidency.

Karadzic Terms New Boundaries 'Acceptable Division'

LD2308014193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2204 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—In an interview carried by tomorrow's edition of POLITIKA, Radovan Karadzic, the president of the republic of Srpska, said that the new Geneva maps were an "acceptable division" of former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to Karadzic, there is still a possibility that the Serbs will have access to the sea, pointing out that he still cannot give any details.

Karadzic added that "the people will have the final say regarding Kupres and Ozren."

The republic of Srpska president said: "We could hold on to all territories for another 30 years but that would mean 30 years of war."

Karadzic pointed out that the Serb side had its historic rights in the Neretva river valley and that it would continue insisting on them. He explained that on this occasion in Geneva, the majority population criterion was used instead of a geographic, historic, or some other criteria. According to this criterion, the town of Stolac [currently Croatian-held] was given to the Muslims because they had been the majority population before the war.

Regarding the western borders of the republic of Srpska, Karadzic said "the Muslims requested that their territory extend across the river Una; they requested parts of the municipalities of Prijedor, Kljuc, Sanski Most. Data from the last population census gave them some arguments for making such demands. However, we recalled that prior to the genocide in this territory more than 70 percent of this population was Serb. The Muslim side did not dispute the fact that a genocide was perpetrated, but they said they did not perpetrate it; some others had."

He explained that the republic of Srpska would include the Sava river valley towns of Samac, Derventa, part of Brod (the town itself), part of Modrica and Brcko. The Croats, in addition to Orasje, would obtain parts of the municipalities of Brod and Modrica so as to form their municipality in Odzak.

He pointed out that a compromise was reached over Brcko. The eastern part belongs fully to the Serbian side. The Muslims will obtain an outlet to the Sava, but more importantly these corridors [prolazi] will be across our territory, Karadzic said, stressing in other words that the Serbs have the territory and the Muslims the corridors.

The republic of Srpska president explained that, like the other two sides, the Serbian side, too, had made concessions for the purpose of reaching a final agreement. "We made some concessions around Kupres and around Donji Vakuf to obtain some territory in Posavina," he said, adding that over the next few days, ahead of the republic of Srpska assembly session, he would go to Kupres and Ozren and have talks with the people there.

"Some ideas exist on how to tackle these problems, but if the people refuse to accept such solutions, all we have agreed to will be rendered invalid," Karadzic stressed.

He explained that, in the case of Mt. Ozren, due to the majority population criterion, there was no larger town or city in the area with a majority Serbian population on whose territory Mt. Ozren could be placed.

Karadzic said that the Muslims have been offered free passage to Gorazde over certain parts of the Trnovo territory. This is Serbian territory, and there should not be any disputes here. This issue will definitely be resolved, he underlined, when the Sarajevo issue is addressed over the next two years.

In any case, the lines of communication of vital importance for us between Sarajevo and Herzegovina will in no way be threatened, the republic Srpska president emphasized.

Asked about the contribution made by Presidents Milosevic, Bulatovic, and Tudjman to a successful outcome of the Geneva peace talks, Karadzic replied: "Undoubtedly, the three presidents made a great contribution. The Muslim side is perfectly aware that Yugoslavia and Croatia will guarantee the survival of any option in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

According to Karadzic, Slobodan Milosevic's enormous experience as a statesman helped significantly in the forming of entities, in the political and economic sense, instead of creating inorganic tissue, so-called pockets or fingers of land, in certain regions.

Izetbegovic: Parliament To Vote on Accord 27 Aug

LD2208192293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1859 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Pale, August 22 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic on Sunday [22 August] said that members of the parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina would vote on the Geneva draft agreement for the solution to the conflict in the former Yugoslav republic at a session to be held in the central Bosnian town of Zenica on Friday, August 28 [date as received].

"The final decision will not be reached in Geneva, but here," Izetbegovic told a news conference in Sarajevo on return from Geneva. The Bosnian Moslem leader reiterated that his delegation was dissatisfied with the proposed solutions for Bosnia-Herzegovina and that he would not be able to advise the parliament to adopt the Geneva proposal.

"We are not satisfied with what was proposed in Geneva," Izetbegovic said.

The parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina was elected in the first multi-party elections in the Republic in 1990. The Serb deputies left the parliament before the war broke out, and the Croats did so at the time when Moslem-Croat clashes were beginning.

A comprehensive package for the resolution of the conflict in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, offered in Geneva on Friday, contains proposals for the constitutional organization and maps for the division between the three ethnic republics (Serb, Croat, Moslem) which are to form the union of republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The conflicting sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina—Serbs, Croats and Moslems—are to decide on the proposal by August 30.

Pale War Presidency Opposes Exemption From Sarajevo

AU2008150593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] The war presidency of Pale commune today addressed a letter to the delegation of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Geneva, in which it reacted sharply to its being exempt from the Sarajevo municipal community.

In the Geneva talks about the future constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the town of Sarajevo, Pale commune has been exempt from the group of municipal communes and, in this way, is being kept outside the framework of Sarajevo.

According to the latest census of 1991, Pale commune was populated by 18,310 persons, of whom 69.1 percent were Serbs, 26.7 Muslims, and 0.8 percent were Croats. The Muslims constituted an absolute majority in the local communities of Hrenovica and Praca. When the war broke out and aggression against the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina started, the vast majority of Muslims, over 3,500 people, were chased away from their homes.

With the exemption of Pale from the group of municipal communes, the entire population of this commune has been placed on an unequal footing compared to the rest of the town's population. The fulfillment of basic needs in the spheres of health, education, culture, [words indistinct], and other social spheres are being denied. For this reason we believe that Pale should also remain a member of the group of communes, as used to be the case, states the Pale commune war presidency's letter.

UN Seeking Access to Mostar for Relief Convoy

AU2308111993 Paris AFP in English 1105 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 23 (AFP)—The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is continuing talks with Croat forces for permission to send a 12-truck relief convoy into the besieged southern Bosnian city of Mostar, a spokeswoman said here Monday [23 August].

But so far there has been "no progress in the negotiations with the HVO (Croat defense forces)," said UNHCR spokeswoman Lyndall Sachs.

If the convoy which is carrying about 130 tonnes of humanitarian aid is allowed into the city, half of the aid would probably go to the Croat-held eastern part and the other half to the eastern part, [as received] where 55,000 Moslems are trapped, she said.

Late Sunday, Radio Sarajevo reported that shelling by Bosnian Croats on eastern Mostar had left 107 dead, 458 wounded over a three-month period.

The toll, covering the period May 9 to August 9, was provided by the authorities in the Moslem half of the city, on the east bank of the Nerevta River, the radio said.

Radio Sarajevo, quoting local authorities, said the casualties had been killed or wounded by shells or bullets fired by Croat forces which have been surrounding eastern Mostar and preventing humanitarian relief convoys from entering the town.

The figures included 53 children killed and 68 wounded, it said.

A spokesman for the UNHCR, which on Saturday succeeded in bringing the first humanitarian relief to the Moslems for more than two months, said earlier that 55,000 people risked starvation within days if relief convoys did not bring in more food.

Meanwhile in Belgrade, the TANJUG news agency quoted Bosnian Serb military sources as saying that Serb and Moslem forces had been locked in fierce fighting since early Monday southwest of the northern town of Brcko.

Moslem forces loyal to President Alija Izetbegovic "early Monday around 7 a.m. (0500 GMT) launched a strong attack against Serb positions, located southwest of Brcko," sources said, adding that "Serb forces were striking back with all means at their disposal."

Croats Bar Passage

LD2208195793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1935 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 22 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Croats on Sunday [22 August] showed no readiness to allow passage for U.N. humanitarian convoys to the eastern, Moslem, section of the town of Mostar, spokeswoman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Lyndall Sachs was quoted by news agencies as saying.

At a news conference in Sarajevo, Lyndall Sachs announced that around 55,000 people in the Moslem section of Mostar were on the brink of starvation and that the situation was desperate. She confirmed reports by local authorities saying that people would be starved to death unless food arrived in five days.

She told newsmen that talks were being held throughout Sunday with representatives of Bosnian Croats in Mostar and that their stand towards blocking the passage of aid intended for the eastern section of the town was completely unacceptable for the UNPROFOR (U.N. Protection Force).

Croats make the passage of humanitarian convoys conditional on the release of Croats held prisoner in Moslem camps.

Lyndall Sachs said the possibility was also considered of delivering aid to the Moslem part of Mostar from the

southeastern approach, through the Serb-held territory. She said she hoped very much that this would be possible.

She added that living in the Moslem part of Mostar there were 25,000 residents and 30,000 refugees expelled from their homes in what is now the Croatian section of the town. She also noted that eight out of every ten patients at the makeshift hospitals had been wounded by artillery and small arms fire coming from across the other bank of the Neretva River intersecting the town.

The Moslem Radio Sarajevo reported that in Mostar on Sunday, 15 Moslems were wounded, two of them died at a field hospital, during a Croatian artillery attack. Bosnian Croats and Moslems have been fighting for over two months for supremacy in this town from which they had jointly expelled more than 25,000 Serbs one year earlier.

Lyndall Sachs also told newsmen that Cedric Thornberry, chief of the UNPROFOR civilian department, on Saturday succeeded in having the necessary medical supplies, but not food, moved into the Moslem section of the town. She quoted him as saying that the situation regarding food was terrible and residents were starved near to death, as the local authorities also believed.

Jerry Hulme, a ranking UNHCR official, told the news conference in Sarajevo that an improvised hospital in Mostar every day performed about 20 surgeries in very primitive conditions, without power supply and running water, so that there were a large number of tragical cases of children with serious wounds.

News agencies also reported that the only way to salvage seriously wounded patients, as doctors from the hospital in the Moslem part of the town said, would be their evacuation by international humanitarian organizations. Should the Croat blockade of Mostar last longer, doctors were quoted as saying, the lives of other patients would also be endangered.

Convoy Reaches Mostar

LD2108154993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1528 GMT 21 Aug 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Trebinje, August 21 (TANJUG)—U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Director for Civil Affairs Cedric Thornberry on Saturday [21 August] arrived in the Moslem-controlled eastern part of Mostar from the UNPROFOR base in the western-Herzegovinian town of Medjugorje.

This is the first humanitarian aid convoy to reach Moslems in Mostar since Bosnian Croats imposed their civilian and military rule in the town two months ago, said Bosnian Serb military sources based near Mostar.

The Sarajevo UNPROFOR headquarters earlier said that the relief convoy would try to get into the Moslem-controlled eastern part of Mostar with or without consent by the Croatian command.

Bosnian Serb military sources said fighting had completely stopped in Mostar because of the presence of UNPROFOR representatives in the town. However, columns of thick smoke rise over the town. Many houses, forests and shrubs are on fire set in the Croat-Moslem clashes in the past few days.

The Croatian Radio said that after a fairly calm night, Moslem infantry units had attempted to move the front-line, but Bosnian Croat Army repelled the attack.

Croats and Moslems, who expelled over 25,000 Serbs from Mostar a year ago, have been clashing for supremacy in the town over the past two months. They are now accusing each other of ethnic cleansing in the town which had a population of 120,000 before the war. Some 35,000 Moslems have been forced by the Croats to the left bank of the Neretva River where their international aid and food supply lines have been cut off since June.

Representatives of humanitarian organizations have said that several thousand Moslems are imprisoned in camps in Mostar, while Croats claim that Moslems are keeping Croatian hostages in nearby towns.

Convoy, Thornberry Arrive

LD2108171493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes for Croatian radio]

[Excerpts] As was expected, following the Muslim army's huge movements and regrouping around Kiseljak, Kresevo, and the free parts of Fojnica, there have been heavy infantry and artillery attacks by Muslim forces on these areas. During the day, Croatian Defense Council [HVO] positions around Ravnica and Poljane in the municipality of Kiseljak came under heaviest infantry attack, and the strategically important village of Otigosce is again coming under fierce shelling. An infantry attack on Kazlagici, also in the municipality of Kiseljak, was earlier repulsed. The command of the HVO Ban Jelacic Brigade has reported that defenders are firmly holding their positions and that there is no reason for panic.

In other parts of central Bosnia, there is no direct fighting, but three civilians were killed and two wounded in what is called sporadic provocations by the Muslim army, involving sniper actions and sudden mortar attacks on the villages around Novi Travnik and Vitez. [passage omitted]

The Rama [formerly Prozor] HVO Brigade possesses reports about the extremely difficult situation in which the Croats in Bugojno have been living since it came under Muslim forces control. It has been announced that since the beginning of fighting in Bugojno, 123 Croats

have been killed, and about 2,500 civilians and around 500 soldiers are being kept in a dozen prisons in the Bugojno area. Many prisoners succumbed to wounds sustained as a result of torture, and many have been taken from the prisons in an unknown direction, presumably to Zenica. At the same time, several Croatian civilians have been killed at home when their flats were plundered, which is frequently done by members of the Muslim formations. On the pretext that it does not wish to take part in ethnic cleansing, the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] are refusing to evacuate those whose life is immediately endangered, including 95 disabled persons.

Mostar has been relatively peaceful today. [passage omitted]

Cedric Thornberry, UNPROFOR commander for civilian affairs, arrived in the Muslim-held part of Mostar today with a 10-truck UN humanitarian aid convoy. He intends to implement an agreement on sending humanitarian aid and deploying blue berets in Mostar.

Mostar Shelled by Croats

LD2208224993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Mostar has been pounded by Republic of Croatia Army and Croatian Defense Council [HVO] artillery since the early hours of the morning. The Mostar press center reports that 15 people have been wounded in these attacks and that two of them died of their wounds.

UN Warns of Starvation

AU2208131293 Paris AFP in English 1055 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 22 (AFP)—Some 55,000 people under siege in the Moslem-held sector of Mostar are living in tragic conditions and will starve in coming days unless relief convoys deliver food, a UN official said here Sunday [22 August].

Lyndall Sachs, spokeswoman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), said members of a UN relief convoy that delivered supplies to the beleaguered Moslem sector of the southern Bosnian city Saturday provided a "quite shocking" report of conditions there.

She said Cedric Thornberry, the UNPROFOR's top civilian officer who accompanied the convoy, reported that the population was "desperate" and was told by local officials in Mostar that "if food convoys don't arrive within the next five days, we are going to see deaths by starvation."

"People looked extremely thin and starved" and Thornberry "thinks that those estimations by local authorities are not exaggerated," she said.

The city, divided by the Neretva River, has been the site of fierce clashes between Croats and Moslems for several months. The Moslems now occupy the east bank while the Croats occupy the west bank.

Sachs said that 60 percent of the city's buildings have been destroyed or damaged in the Moslem sector and 55,000 people, including 30,000 refugees from other regions, are trying to get by in tough conditions with no water, electricity or food.

"The only water supply is the river, and of course when people try to go to the river they get sniped at," she said.

She said the convoy of nine armoured vehicles that delivered supplies Saturday was repeatedly targeted by snipers and that "people who were courageous enough to run after the convoy were beggin for food."

Sachs said one hospital in that part of the city was operating in "primitive" conditions without even basic medical supplies.

Thornberry said the appalling conditions of the Moslem population in Mostar required "extremely urgent" action to deliver humanitarian aid.

Muslim Casualty Figures

LD2208212193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Report by Izudin Sahovic from Mostar]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] According to reports compiled so far, shells and snipers killed 107 civilians, including 53 children, and wounded 458 civilians, including 68 children, during the three month-long aggression by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Army of the Republic of Croatia, i.e. from 9 May to 9 August. The UN Protection Forces delegation nodded in acquiescence on hearing this, glancing at their watches. We managed, they told us, to bring you 300 kg of medicine, with the HVO's permission. The hosts said, thank you, but what about food, water and electricity? Rising from their seats, the guests replied that everything would be supplied but that the HVO must be consulted. [passage omitted]

Update on Croat-Muslim Fighting; Mostar Flooded

LD2208194993 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Excerpts] The fiercest fighting today took place on the Zepce battlefield. Muslim forces are using all available weapons in a bid to realize their war plan, codenamed Cauldron. Antun Mrkonjic reports:

[Mrkonjic] One Croat Defense Council [HVO] soldier was killed and two wounded in fierce clashes on the Zepce battlefield today. [passage omitted] Fighting began near the village of Gornja Papratnica this afternoon, preceded by artillery attacks from the Muslim stronghold in Golubinja. The artillery of the HVO's

111th Brigade responded adequately. Infantry clashes are still in progress. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] The warnings of the HVO's main headquarters that Muslim forces will try to use the Mostar-I dam in their efforts to seize the Neretva river valley have come true. By lowering the water level behind the dam, they have flooded the northern part of the Mostar municipality around the village of Bijelo Polje. [passage omitted]

Prozor Sealed Off; Muslims Reportedly Persecuted

LD2108012893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Prozor is a completely sealed-off town, Dr. Safet Sibo [participant in Jablanica meeting of Muslim-controlled Bosnian towns' civilian authorities] stressed. What is going on now in Prozor is a crime unprecedented in the history of the world. Repression is perpetual, and genocide is being carried out against the Muslims. The Muslims are fleeing to the woods to hide. More than 200 citizens of Prozor, mostly women, children, and elderly people, managed to escape to the Jablanica free territory over the past month alone. The arrivals from Prozor, Dr. Sibo underlined, are testifying to blood-curdling events, to the horrifying truth about rape, murder, persecution, and torture.

On 31 July, Croatian Defense Council extremists marched 72 Muslim civilians to Mt. Makljen and used them as a human shield. Twenty seven of them succeeded in escaping, 20 were caught and taken back to bondage, and 25 were shot in the back.

Izetbegovic Letter to UN Complains of Rights Violations

LD2208224093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has sent a letter to the UN Security Council in which he informs it of the violations of the human and national rights of Bosnian Muslims by the Croatian police in northern Herzegovina, which is acquiring the proportions of a true catastrophe.

Fifteen thousand people have been driven from their homes and their land with the aim of creating an ethnically cleansed Croatian territory. Men aged between 15 and 70 years have been arrested, maltreated, and selectively liquidated.

Zijad Demirovic, president of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] of Herzegovina, was arrested with his entire family in Mostar at the beginning of June and all trace of him has been lost. The president of the SDA in Capljina [words indistinct] was murdered in cold blood in front of his own house in the presence of his family and neighbors, the letter says.

Imprisoned men were put in improvised camps at a helicopter landing site,, in the university building in Mostar, in Dretelj, in the barracks at Grabovina, in the military depot in Gabela, in the former dairy farm in Celjevo, in Capljina—in the military barracks, tobacco warehouse and schools—in Crnici, in iron and steel works in Stolac, in the former agricultural holding in Vitina, in the prison in Otoka, in the nuclear shelter in Ljubuski, and in the Unis building, the secondary school center, and the fire station in Prozor.

All the Muslim houses in the villages of Gubavica, Bivolje Brdo, Hasic, [words indistinct] in the villages of Sevas Polje, (Kaljevina), Lokve, and in the Mostar suburbs of Cim and Ilici the mosques have been burned down. In the western part of Mostar mosques in the villages of (Visici) and Dubrave have been blown up. The Croatian defense minister [as heard] has driven the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], the Red Cross, and journalists out of Mostar [words indistinct].

They have allowed Muslims to leave Herzegovina, provided that they sign a statement saying they are voluntarily giving away all their property. In Mostar alone the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] has issued 8,000 such permits, the letter to the UN Security Council says.

Stolac, Tasovcici, Capljina and Ljubuski, Visici [words indistinct] and the Mostar suburbs of Balinovac and Likovina and parts of the city around Mostar cathedral and the building of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have been ethnically cleansed of Muslim inhabitants. Some of the people who have been driven out—mainly women and children—have been crammed into the eastern part of Mostar, in Blagaj, and Pociteljsko Polje. They have been left without food, water and medicine and without electricity.

We request that the Security Council immediately send representatives of the UNHCR and UNPROFOR to Mostar who will establish the facts on the ground and inform the Security Council and the international public.

We request that the UNHCR enable humanitarian aid to get through to the expelled population of Mostar and those in concentration camps throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that the HVO order that all imprisoned civilians and imprisoned soldiers be released in keeping with international conventions.

We repeat our demand that Mostar be declared a protected zone.

Unfortunately, I must stress the fact that besides the two nationalist armies, responsibility for the tragedy of the Muslim people is also borne by factors in the world organization which imposed an arms embargo on this nation and in this way, to all intents and purposes, tied its hands and took away the right to self-defense which is guaranteed in the UN Charter.

This time I request that people who are prevented from defending themselves be allowed at least the right to survive, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the presidency, says at the end of his letter to the UN Security Council.

Army Says Serbs, Croats Have Over 90,000 Soldiers

AU2008162693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] According to reports by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, 90,000 to 95,000 soldiers are attacking our country at any given time. Besides that, 50,000 combat ready soldiers on the territory of the so-called Yugoslavia are prepared to attack Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The 95,000 soldiers consist of 60,000 of the Serbian aggressor's soldiers and 30,000 to 35,000 Croatian Defense Concil [HVO] and Croatian Army soldiers.

On the battlefields of the lily state [reference to Bosnian coat of arms] the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is fighting 300 of the aggressor's tanks and lately also Croatian Army tanks. Beside tanks, the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor has 200 to 300 armored personnel carriers as well as a lot of artillery, [words indistinct] HVO and constant chetnik use of helicopters and [word indistinct] aircraft used daily by the HVO and the Croatian Army, especially in the combat activities in Herzegovina, B-H PRESS reports.

Islamic Leader Writes to Pope, Archbishop

LD2208161093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Mustafa Efendija Ceric, head of the Islamic community of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has sent letters to Pope John Paul II and [Zagreb Archbishop] Cardinal Franjo Kuharic concerning the tremendous suffering of the Muslims, especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The letter says: Taking into account the Catholic Church's reputation and influence in this region, I expect you, Your Holiness, to take appropriate measures aimed at putting an end to these crimes and upholding the sacred right of individuals and nations to remain on their ancestral soil. The letter is written in in connection with the terrible crimes committed by the Croat Defense Council [HVO] in Herzegovina.

I wish to draw your attention to the crimes committed in the southern parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina by extremists from the ranks of the HVO and the Croatian Army. The ancient towns of Stolac, Pocitelj, Ljubuski, Mostar, Capljina and many others are exposed to despicable crimes; more than 20,000 people have been imprisoned, more than 40,000 forcibly expelled, and hundreds murdered in the most brutal way. The most beautiful and most valuable monuments of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims' heritage are subjected to large-scale devastation. I note with regret that the Church has not raised its voice against the crimes against the Bosnian Muslims, Mustafa Efendija Ceric writes in his letter to the Pope.

Your resolute opposition to the crime against Bosnia—whose victims are mostly Bosnia's Muslims—has been interpreted by the members of our community as a sincere response and the sacred duty of individuals and nations who make no distinction between the murder of an individual and the extermination of the entire human race, says the letter sent by the head of the Islamic community of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Archbishop of Zagreb, Cardinal Franjo Kuharic.

I wish to express my conviction that you and the Catholic Church will raise your voices against the crimes and ensure that the truth about these crimes and their victims is revealed to Croatia's believers so they themselves can fulfill the obligations stemming from their faith, the letter concludes.

Muslims Reportedly Kill 123 Croats in Bugojno

LD2208105993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0705 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] The Croatian Defense Council reported that since Muslim forces have taken control of Bugojno, 123 Croats have been killed and about 2,500 civilians and 500 soldiers have been interned in concentration camps. The report noted that many of those imprisoned have also died as a result of being interrogated and tortured.

Number of Croatian Refugees Reaches 41 Percent

LD2008144993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] According to the latest data released today by the office for refugees and displaced persons of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna, there are currently 219,000 refugees and displaced persons in the territory of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna. There are 100,000 more refugees now than before 5 May this year, that is, before the open clashes between Croats and Muslims started. It is important to note that the newly arrived refugees are Croats, a statement says and adds that the number of Muslims has fallen by 14,000 as some of them have moved to third countries. A total of 310,000 Croats have fled or have been driven from Bosnia to date, 41 percent [of the total number of Croats in Bosnia] according to the 1991 census, the statement says.

Mladic Assesses Situation as 'Favorable'

AU2208195093 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Report by Dragan Bera from Novi Grad—recorded]

[Text] [Bera] We are now in Novi Grad, the former Bosanski Novi, where the most sought after things are the newspapers carrying maps from Geneva. The Muslims wanted this town for themselves, but it remained in

the republic of Srpska, to the satisfaction of the Serbs who have always represented a majority here.

In the wake of the Geneva talks, people living at the foot of the Mt. Kozara and Mt. Grmec, in Novi Grad, Krupa on the Una, Prijedor, Sanski Most, and Kljuc are pleased. However, the same cannot be said about the region of Bihac and some other regions that, according to the latest maps, have remained outside the republic of Srpska. The Serbs nevertheless realize that everything cannot be perfect.

In Novi Grad we meet General Ratko Mladic, commander of the army of the republic of Srpska. How does he assess the situation in the field in the last two days and the Geneva negotiations?

[Mladic] The situation may be assessed as favorable. I can say in general that our forces are respecting the signed agreement on ceasing hostilities and the military agreement on peace; we must have the utmost confidence in the people who represented our interests and extend full support (?to) the initiative of international bodies and institutions that are making an effort to untie the knot of war on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina in a peaceful way, as well as to all our friends abroad, and particularly the efforts ofy representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that is, Serbian President Milosevic, Montenegrin President Bulatovic, and others who helped the Serbian people to, I would say, find its way at this very difficult time.

[Bera] Here is a message from the Serbs at the foot of Mt. Kozara and Mt. Grmec to those Serbs for whom the maps were not so favorable: There is enough land, enough houses, and enough good will here for every Serb.

Serbs Reportedly Launch Offensive in North

LD2208121993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] The free territory of Tesanj, Doboj, Maglaj, and Teslic is going through its worst period since the outbreak of the war. The aggressor's [Bosnian Serb] all-out offensive in this area has been going on incessantly and unabated over the past 24 hours.

The aggressor is bringing in reinforcements, tanks, and artillery weapons, and has launched an attack against our defenders [Muslims] with more than 30 tanks and more than 50 artillery barrels that are turning red hot from constant use.

More than 4,000 different missiles landed on the free territory yesterday and last night, and more than 500 in this morning's attack on [name indistinct] and Miljanovci alone. The most frequent targets are residential areas and civilian objects in Miljanovci, Kalosevic , [name indistinct], Mrkotic, [indistinct placenames] Alibegovci, Krasevo, Mravici, Sije, [indistinct names], and the towns of Tesanj and Maglaj.

The shelling went on through the night, killing and wounding several dozen civilians.

The Serb aggressor today attempted concentrated combined infantry and armored unit assaults on the defenders on Miljanovci (?hill), [word indistinct], Crni Vrh, Kalosevic, Krsno Polje, [names indistinct], and tried to cross the Bosna [river] at Mravici and mount a spearhead through our defense lines with the support of a large number of tanks, mortars, anti-tank launchers, [word indistinct], and even used an armored train.

Helicopters were deployed with no hindrance in the Vitkovci area.

Thanks to the joint efforts of the heroic 202d, 207th, 201st, 203d, 204th Brigades of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the independent battalions from [words indistinct] and the 110th Brigade of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] for Usora, all the attacks were repelled, and terrible losses in troops and equipment inflicted on the aggressor. The enemy lost two tanks and two artillery pieces, while the armored train was damaged in the region of Pridjel. We have also registered a truly heroic feat by fighters from the vicious 207th (?Pousorska) Brigade—they captured the latest model of the M-8 [number indistinct] tank from the chetniks with their bare hands in the region of Miljanovci.

Serbs Report Muslim Attacks

LD2208120793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0845 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Bihac, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—After an apparent lull on the Bihac front, members of the Muslim forces from the Cazin Krajina last night heavily violated the ceasefire, the local Serb source reported.

The same source added that the attacks were renewed this morning. The target of 82- and 120-mm mortars positioned on the left bank of the Una were Serb positions on the Grabez-Grmusa plateau. One Serb fighter was wounded in the shelling.

Sporadic exchange of [small-arms] fire was also reported in the area of Ripac and Pritocki Grabez.

Fighters of the 2d Krajina Corps of the republic of Srpska army did not respond to last night's and this morning's attacks by the green berets, led by Ramiz Drekovic from Sandzak.

Serb Army Reports Fresh Fighting Near Trebinje

LD2108222993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1953 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text] Trebinje, Aug 21 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb army sources report an unexpected outbreak of fighting between Bosnia's belligerents in Herzegovina on Saturday [21 August], the worst in the past fortnight.

A glance at the latest map of an ethnically divided Bosnia, drafted at Geneva on Friday, is enough to

explain that fighting has broken out on those sections from which one of the ethnic militia's is supposed to withdraw.

At Trebinje, heavy artillery duels developed after the army of neighbouring Croatia shelled from tanks and mortars the village of Orasja in the west of the fertile plain of Popovo Polje.

The Bosnian Serb units in the area were forced to return fire because the persistent attacks were endangering the troops, the local command said.

The Croatian Army and Bosnian Croat troops attacked Bosnian Serb positions also at Ljubinje, Herzegovina, using incendiary ammunition.

Serb troops on Saturday beat back a Moslem infantry onslaught from the direction of Konjic, northern Herzegovina, undertaken in an effort to break through the village of Borak and Lake Boracko Jezero.

Moslem infantry attempted a number of attacks on the section from Cajnice in Herzegovina to Gorazde in southeastern Bosnia.

Zuc Hill, Vogosca Reportedly Attacked by Serbs

LD2108184993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text] The Zuc hill and the Vogosca battlefield were not peaceful today. This morning, the Vogosca chetniks again used their lethal weapons. A tank based in Kamenolom opened fire on point 850 [not further defined], while several 82-mm mortar shells were fired on the wider area of Vukusa and the Zuc hill.

In the afternoon, the chetnik criminal heavy-calibre artillery targetted Kobilja Glava. Around 1630, three shells hit the very center of this village and three civilians sustained serious wounds.

The enemy has been observed to regroup and bring in fresh forces in Rajlovac and Vogosca. Whether a fresh chetnik offensive on Zuc hill is being prepared can be learned from UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] observers who are placidly watching the chetnik pandemonuium in the free Vogosca territory.

Italian Aid Workers Seized by Bosnian Militia Group

AU2208180293 Paris AFP in English 1738 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Rome, Aug 22 (AFP)—Three Italian aid workers have been seized by a Bosnian militia group and are being held near Sarajevo, an Italian foreign ministry statement said late Sunday [22 August].

The ministry quickly alerted its representative in Zagreb and sought the intervention of Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic, the European Community's Bosnia mission, the International Red Cross and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

The three Italians were named as Enrico Zulberti, Mario Turancic and Irina Turancic.

Earlier Sunday Zulberti's family said the Italian Solidarity Consortium (ICS), which coordinates Italian aid missions in Bosnia, had told them that he was being held in a Bosnian concentration camp at Travnik near Sarajevo.

Zulberti, 35, was detained during a mission to deliver medicine, plasma and food to a community near Travnik, said his friend and co-aid worker Doctor Lia Cristofolini.

Cristofolini added: "He told us that a small hospital had been built in this area and that a Danish doctor was performing operations there, assisted by a parish priest and two nuns who had fled from a convent."

Zulberti's sister Antonietta told journalists Sunday in their home town of Bolzano, northern Italy, that her brother had previously been detained in Bosnia during similar humanitarian missions and had been freed by UNPROFOR.

Krajina Serbs, Government Reach Tentative Agreement

LD2008164393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Plitvice, 20 August (TANJUG)—Knut Vollebaek, deputy cochairman of the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia, stated at Plitvice today that representatives of the republic of Serb Krajina have in principle accepted an agreement on cease-fire in the conflict with Croatia.

Two-day talks between representatives of the United Nations, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces], and the republic of Serb Krajina on a cease-fire in the Krajina-Croatia war were held at Plitvice.

The basis for that agreement, which incorporates elements of the Erdut agreement, are previous negotiations and draft agreements from Vienna and Geneva, Vollebaek said.

The deputy cochairman of the Geneva conference is to inform the Croatian side about the viewpoints of the republic of Serb Krajina. The date for the new round of negotiations between the warring factions now depends on the Croatian side. Vollebaek intimated a possibility of the new round of talks being held in New York.

He praised the Serb side for making a constructive contribution in its efforts for a cease-fire agreement and a permanent peace to be achieved and reiterated that as far as the United Nations and the Geneva conference are concerned, the Erdut agreement is still in force.

According to him, the proposers of the agreement wish it to be acceptable for both sides and hold that the agreement does not prejudice any political solutions.

Vollebaek believes that no success in negotiations between the warring sides has been reached so far due to the fact that there was no let-up in combat activities.

He went on to say that both sides offered guarantees that they would solve all contentious issues peacefully and in a negotiated way.

Mile Paspalj, president of the assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina, stressed that there is a high degree of harmony in the positions of the United Nations and UNPROFOR on one side and the stands of the Krajina delegation on the other regarding the cease-fire agreement.

He added that the delegation of the republic of Serb Krajina had "slight objections" to the offered agreement, but that they could not influence global solutions as set out in the agreement and its implementation.

According to him, a new trend toward peace has been opened and obstacles for the implementation of the Erdut agreement have been removed by the new cease-fire agreement with the constructive approach by the UN representatives.

According to Paspalj, huge progress in the negotiating process has been achieved at Plitvice, unlike at Vienna and Geneva talks.

The president of the Krajina parliament expressed hope that serious negotiations between Croatia and the republic of Serb Krajina on all important issues will take place this autumn.

RSK Government Statement on Proposed Bosnian Maps

LD2208141293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1220 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Knin, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—The most important accomplishment of the negotiations on the peaceful settlement of the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, so far, is that a chance has eventually surfaced for the cessation of the gory war and the reaching of a peaceful solution, the republic of Serb Krajina government has said.

A statement that was distributed to journalists says that there is no solution that would suit all three warring sides, and therefore compromises were necessary.

The Knin government points to the fact that through the offered solutions in the form of maps "a part of the territory is being taken away from the Serb people and the issue of their access to the sea is being left unresolved."

At the same time the republic of Serb Krajina government points at a positive side of the agreement, which "provides for territorial integrity and continuity of the Serb territories."

The statement by the Knin government says that the final say on the division of former Bosnia-Herzegovina ought to be given by deputies of the Srpska republic assembly, who have always known how to find the right solution.

RSK Foreign Minister Complains of UN Bias

LD2008144393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Knin, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—Slobodan Jarcevic, the foreign affairs minister of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], today sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali in which he stresses that the RSK has no opportunity to present its stance before UN bodies, and that its documents are not treated as official Security Council documents, whereby the Republic of Croatia is gaining the upper hand because only its information and stands are taken into consideration.

Jarcevic added that this "has caused Security Council resolutions to prejudice the political solution to the

dispute between the RSK and the Republic of Croatia, which is in contravention with the first item of the Vance plan."

He says that "the content of resolutions is adapted to the wishes and desires of the Croatian authorities in Zagreb, which encourages General Tudjman to ignore the efforts invested by the cochairmen of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia in Geneva, in the mediation between the delegations of Krajina and Croatia, by treating them as equal partners."

Jarcevic notes that Tudjman "in the same way ignored the Erdut agreement of 15 and 16 July" this year.

Stating that the Croatian Government "is only using" the peace talks "to conceal its intention to launch a fresh military attack on the RSK," Jarcevic says that it would be "desirable to publicly warn the Croatian Government that negotiations are the only civilized way to reach peace between the RSK and the Republic of Croatia, and that Croatia will bear the consequences and condemnation of the international community if it discredits the negotiations."

Jarcevic adds that "if Croatia is allowed to do what it wants, the negotiations and all future agreements will share the fate of the Erdut agreement."

Maslenica Pontoon Bridge Reopened to Traffic

LD2208104893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Report by Bozidar Klaric from Maslenica]

[Excerpt] After 22 days of being nonoperational, the Maslenica pontoon bridge was reopened to traffic at 1100 today. The bridge was reopened in the presence of Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Seks, Jure Radic, head of the office of the president of the Republic, and Ivica Mudrinic, minister of transport, communications, and maritime affairs. Also present were Sime Prtenjaca, prefect of the Zadar-Knin county, Vice Prefect Pavle Racic, and U.S. Congressman John Reed, who is visiting Zadar today. [passage omitted]

Bridge Reopening 'Foiled'

LD2208200493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1948 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 22 (TANJUG)—Croatia had another go on Sunday at reopening the strategic pontoon bridge at Maslenica, but was foiled by the army of the Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.) firing 15 shells from the surrounding hilltops.

Radio Zagreb reported the ceremonious reopening of the pontoon bridge, which had been damaged and partially sunk on August 1.

Officials of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Zagreb said in the afternoon that they had information that the area of the bridge had been severely shelled, but could not say if the bridge had been damaged.

News agencies quote an officer in the coastal town of Zadar as saying that 15 shells had been fired from the nearby peaks. He could not say if the bridge had been damaged, but said that Zemunik airport near Zadar had been hit.

Earlier this year, on January 22, the Croatian Army attacked and occupied the U.N.-protected Serb areas of Maslenica and Zemunik airport, setting up the pontoon bridge in the invaded territories as the only overland link between mainland Croatia and southern Dalmatia. It has refused to withdraw, ignoring an order from the U.N. Security Council.

Under an agreement signed in Erdut in mid-July, the local Serb Krajina authorities had permitted Croatia to reopen the bridge, on condition that the Croatian Army and police withdraw from the occupied Serb territories by July 31, and that the bridge and the airport be controlled by UNPROFOR.

Croatia reopened the bridge and the airport but ignored the deadline, and two subsequent deadlines as well. The R.S.K. responded by shelling and sinking the bridge.

The R.S.K. is prepared to permit the bridge to be reopened and to resume talks on a peaceful solution to the problem, on condition that the Croatian Army honour its commitment and withdraw from the occupied territories.

Shelling Reports Unconfirmed

LD2208180093 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] The Maslenica pontoon bridge across the Novsko straits was reopened to all types of vehicles this morning. At the same time Pag bridge, which is in need of fundamental repairs, is being closed to vehicles over two metric tons.

Some foreign news agencies, quoting Western diplomatic sources in Zagreb and reports from members of the French battalion deployed in the Maslenica area, said this afternoon that Serb rebels have shelled the bridge, but the bridge was not damaged. We have not been able to confirm this news from other sources, so it should be treated with caution.

Visiting U.S. Generals Meet Defense Chiefs

LD2208164293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] A group of U.S. generals, headed by General John Sheehan, commander for all Pentagon actions, is paying a visit to Zagreb. Five U.S. generals had a working lunch with Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak, Chief of Staff General Janko Bobetko, and their associates.

As Minister Susak told journalists following their talks, the meeting with the U.S. military officials was informative in nature. They were interested to hear our standpoint on the extension of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] mandate in Croatia, the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and what effect air-strikes would have should a decision in favor of them be taken, Minister Susak said. He described the talks as friendly and positive.

The U.S. generals are to leave for Sarajevo tomorrow, where they are to meet representatives of UNPROFOR and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Banning of Izetbegovic's SDA Viewed

AU2208204393 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 93 p 7

[Article by Marko Markovic: "Misused Hospitality?"]

[Text] Mijo Tokic, mayor of Tomislavgrad, proposed that the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] of Croatia be banned as a terrorist party in Croatia; more precisely, that its activities be halted and outlawed. Let us remind the reader that this happened following a series of major crimes committed by Alija Izetbegovic's soldiers against the civilian population in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and against the captured soldiers of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. A similar fate was met by Croats in Central Bosnia who served in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army formations and refused to shoot at fellow Croats when Alija's army turned their weapons against them.

Apart from Croatian television, other Croatian media did not note the move, and politicians avoided commenting it, but followers of Alija Izetbegovic continue to perpetrate crimes, regularly accompanied by the exclamation: "Allahu Akbar" (Allah is great).

However, after many crimes, some Muslims from Zagreb spoke out, openly calling for Izetbegovic to resign; Mirsad Baksic [president of the Croatian Muslim Democratic Party] called for Fikret Abdic to take over the leading position in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Murat Beaten Up

Mijo Tokic's idea, politically speaking an unpopular, deserves some thought. Anything is allowed in a war except one thing, and that is losing the war. Croatia is at war, the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina are fighting for their mere existence, and anything that might increase the chances of success is permissible. Even more so if the claims about Zagreb being the center of all Muslim organizations, many of which perform activities that are anti-Croatian and against Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, turn out to be true. Such information was recently confirmed to me by Muhamed Zulic, certainly the most influential and respectable Muslim representative in Croatia. In an interview for SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, Mirsad Baksic stated that among those who are "throwing the bones of contention and consciously disturbing the relations there are some Muslim intellectuals, as well as the strong SDA lobby in Zagreb."

The most eloquent and specific stand on SDA terrorism was taken by Fikret Abdic, who said: "The SDA executive board publishes reports that are not at all true. If it had been up to the members of the Main and Executive Board of the party in Bihac, we would have been at war with the Croats a long time ago, we would have been at war with everybody, there would have been no supplies, we would have had a crisis and a chaos. Moreover, I am being reproached for having presidential ambitions, and all this is being produced by Izetbegovic's people in the party, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Command Center and so on. Rusmir Mahmutcehajic is the main SDA ideologist, and Izetbegovic will have to answer for the fact that the main ideologist was a man who had never been in the party and whom people never voted for. He founded an intelligence service for the SDA and included it in the Foreign Ministry of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He is minister of energy and industry around people who were nearly starving, while he was spying and making plans to kill people, myself including. Their people are all over the world, many of them are in Zagreb, and they recently established a logistics center in Rijeka. This is where Ragib Merdjanic is, Rusmir's man who is responsible for keeping up with my work in Rijeka. They are doing it to me now, and in the near future they might do it to others, following the same illegal pattern."

The emphasis in the quoted statement by Abdic is on Alija, that is, his greatest asset Rusmir Mahmutcehajic, who has people everywhere, including many in Zagreb. The recent incident wherein Murat Sabanovic, the famous soldier who was among the first to rebel against the Serb aggression, was beat up, confirms the quote. He was beaten up by Alija's Zagreb agents because of his pro-Croatian views.

Evidence Is Necessary

We were interested in what other political parties and the leading SDA people thought about the banning of activities of the SDA of Croatia. Semso Tankovic [president of SDA—Branch for Croatia] impolitely refused to talk about it, saying that he believed it was a question of "Smiljko Sagolj's [Croatian Television reporter in Bosnia-Herzegovina] silly fabrications"; the Croatian Peasants Party [HSS] also refused to comment, saying they did not want to take a stand on the issue.

Bozo Kovacevic of the Croatian Social Liberal Party [HSLS] first warned us that he was not sure he would answer the question properly. "Should it turn out that the SDA is a terrorist party," says Kovacevic, "it would mean that it can and should be banned. However, it is well known that the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] is not banned in Croatia. It is obviously a terrorist party and there are legal and constitutional authorizations for banning it. Before there is any talk on banning the SDA, the SDS should be banned, as they are still occupying one-third of Croatia."

Davorko Vidovic, vice president of the Party of Democratic Changes [SDP], is essentially against any banning, if the legal norms are to be observed. "I think," says Vidovic, "that the activities of the SDA of Croatia, regardless of all the disagreements in political positions, are still within the law. The political disagreements and differences of opinion should not be a reason for banning. However, if the authorities in Croatia have information about the SDA in Croatia being a terrorist party, then it should be banned, but until then any conversation on the topic is redundant."

On behalf of the Croatian Christian Democratic Party, Ante Kraljevic diplomatically said that "the SDA should be banned if there are valid reasons for banning it"; the representatives of the Croatian Muslim Democratic Party were understandably cautious. "No Presidency meeting has been held, we have not discussed the topic, and you must understand our caution in giving statements concerning the issue."

Milan Djukic, president of the Serb National Party [SNS], in considering this topic supported the establishment of democratic criteria in Croatia: "I am not completely familiar with the SDA program," said Djukic, "but to my knowledge it is not directed against the state. I think they should not be banned, as they are a political party whose program does not contain elements of terrorism. I cannot speak badly of the party; I do not know them well enough, though its leaders have spoken against the SNS—they have a bad opinion of us. However, I do not wish to behave as they do and am not in favor of banning the SDA."

A very "original" answer was given by Dobroslav Paraga, still president of the Croatian Rights Party [HSP], who claims that "the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] is the party that should be banned as a terrorist party in Croatia. It is the only terrorist party; they tried to get rid of me as they got rid of my associates. The HDZ has led to this bloodshed, they were the first to start the crimes." Warned that he should substantiate his accusations, and upon hearing that it would be impossible not to respond to the massacre committed by Alija's followers in central Bosnia, Bugojno, and especially in Doljani, Paraga replied: "You know that I am a humanist and that I will condemn any crime. However, the question is who started first, where the blame lies. You see that there have been attempts to kill me, but the HSP has managed to survive after all. The only party in Croatia that should be banned as terrorist is the HDZ," insisted Dobroslav Paraga.

Opposing Views

I do not wish to comment on any of the above statements of the political parties in Croatia on this issue, including the opinion of Dobroslav Paraga on the party in power. However, I must say that I am surprised by his coldheartedness concerning the massacre of Croats in central Bosnia.

On behalf of the HDZ, Dr. Ivic Pasalic, president of the party Executive Committee, said the following: "Concerning the political positions of the SDA of Croatia, and especially of its leaders, we have opposed their positions on the future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their political positions were often unsubstantiated and contrary to Croatian interests, and it is obvious that their leaders have misused Croatian hospitality. As is well known, the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia has adopted the Political Parties Act that regulates the founding, financing, and halting of activities of political parties. According to Article 125 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, the banning of the activities of political parties is within the authority of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia."

Article 125 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, which concerns political parties, says that "the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia supervises the constitutionality of the programs and activities of political parties, and, in accordance with the Constitution, it may ban their activities."

It is clear, even without the insight into the SDA program, that the party is formally and legally in accordance with the Constitution and the Act on Political Parties in Croatia. Nevertheless, there have been many instances of high party officials acting contrary to Croatian state interests, and especially against the interests of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In that context, the Croats' cries for help in Bosnia-Herzegovina are not unfounded.

Party Leader Protests Report Implying Terrorism

LD2108194293 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text] Semso Tankovic, chairman of the Party of Democratic Action of Croatia, has sent us the following denial:

On 17 August 1993, Croatian television broadcast in its first daily news a report on the results of a police action directed against terrorist activities of some humanitarian organizations. While the news presenter was reading the report, the video showed a list of members of the executive committee of the Party of Democratic Action of Croatia. We would like to declare that our party is against any form of terrorism, no matter who organizes it or takes part in it.

Valentic Optimistic About Economic Recovery

LD2208205993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Report by Bozo Brzica]

[Text] In talks today with leaders and businessmen of Dubrovnik and Neretva County, Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic was optimistic about current economic trends and signs of economic recovery.

Agricultural production is 20 percent higher this year compared with 1992—a market surplus of 200,000 metric tons of wheat has been harvested. Tourism has so far earned 1 billion German marks. By the end of the year this figure will increase to $1 billion. Based on these results we are planning to earn between $1.5 and $2 billion from tourism next year. By implementing measures of current economic policy primarily directed at curbing inflation, the Croatian Government has considerably succeeded in balancing the budget, in removing price differences, and improving public spending—primarily in the power industry—and halting unrealistic pay raises. At the same time, foreign currency reserves of $1.2 billion have been generated; by the end of the year they are expected to reach $1.5 billion. Foreign currency savings, exports, and foreign currency influx are on the rise.

These results make it neccessary for the government to take even stricter measures of monetary policy in the last quarter of this year. There will be no new money issued for covering up losses. In the sphere of fiscal policy, which has recently demonstrated extremely positive trends, the basic approach will be as it is now—expenditures will be covered exclusively from realistic sources.

Taking this into consideration in light of comprehensive measures of current and long-term economic policies, the prime minister said it would be realistic to expect inflation to be curbed at under 15 percent a month by the end of this year. In the first few months of next year, inflation is expected to fall to a level where it will no longer be a serious threat to economic trends, nor have a significant influence on economic development as is wanted and as is realistically possible. Prime Minister Valentic explained that all this will be achieved if there is no exacerbation in the political and military situation.

Commentary on Activity of Muslims in Europe

AU2208162893 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 93 p 7

[Commentary by Ivica Nosic: "And What If Someone Destroyed Big Ben?..."]

[Text] "The talks in Geneva are nothing but a show. I do not expect anything from it. Personally, I think that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue for a long time, and that it can end only with NATO military intervention. Europe is asleep, and the world civilization has no conscience...."

These are the words of Dzevad Saldic, president of the Community of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] for Europe, a well-known businessman living in Stuttgart, Germany, who was once a successful Bosnia-Herzegovina track-and-field athlete and a contributor to many newspapers. For a couple of years now, he has been involved in, as he puts it, "raising the Muslim national conscience in diaspora."

"There are more than 170,000 of us throughout Europe," says Dzevad Saldic. "We started organizing ourselves at the time of the first multiparty elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Our initial goal was to inform Muslims about everything relevant for our nation. However, the war changed that goal. Now the community is concentrating on refugees and displaced persons. Until the war, we were not organized like the Serbs and the Croats were organized in Europe. Whether we want to admit it or not, the Muslims in the former Yugoslav republics were also of Yugoslav orientation, so that was translated in diaspora, too. We did not have our own identity, our own nationality. In Stuttgart, we started politically organizing ourselves far more quickly and thoroughly than elsewhere in Europe. We started demonstrating, organizing round table discussions and public protests. On several occasions, we warned the German Government, U.S. President Bush, and other world leaders about the tragedy of the Muslims and other nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

As distinguished from some other SDA leaders in Europe, Dzevad Saldic visited the Bosnia-Herzegovina battlefields four times, of which he is very proud. He says that there he saw and felt how difficult it is to defend the mother country, and what price must be paid for that.

"I recently visited Domaljevac, Tolisa, Orasje.... I was at the front line on three occasions; I was almost killed. I talked to many soldiers from the 101st and 102d Brigades of the Croatian Defense Council. I wanted to know about the consequences of events in western Herzegovina and central Bosnia. I was glad to find out that the relations between Croatian and Muslim defenders of the Sava region remained good. I personally think that there is a difference between the Croats of the Sava region and those in Herzegovina. The people in the Sava region are used to living together. I also informed Mr. Izetbegovic about the value of cooperation between Croats and Muslims in the Sava region." He thinks that the Croats and the Muslims from central Bosnia and western Herzegovina should follow the example of their compatriots from Brcko, Gradacac, and Tuzla. "In those areas, people do not even care about religion and nationality."

"Personally, I keep in contact with the delegation of the Republic of Croatia in Stuttgart. I enjoy wholehearted cooperation with Consul Mrs. Zdenka Babic; she is deeply involved in the predicament of a sovereign and independent Croatia, and we fight the same battle as regards Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mrs. Babic helps Muslims, people from Sandzak, Kosovo, and Bosnia-Herzegovina to get various documents in Stuttgart. The Embassy of the Republic of Croatia has kept open its doors for our refugees and displaced persons. Even today, regardless of strained relations between our governments, we help and advise each other."

We also discussed some other problems with the president of the SDA Community for Europe. He said that he was not inclined to comment on Ejup Ganic's threats of terrorism; indeed, he considers them baseless.

"We recently talked to Mr. Ganic in Karlsruhe. He did not even mention anything like that. Terrorism is not known among the Muslims from Bosnia-Herzegovina. I could say that I would like to see some terrorism, so that the others could understand the position of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but I do not want any killing. You see, more than 900 mosques were destroyed in Bosnia-Herzegovina. What would happen if places of worship in Paris or London were destroyed? What would be the reaction of the French and the world, if the Arc de Triomphe were blown up? What would be the reaction if there were only ruins left of the bridges on the Thames and the famous Big Ben? The French and English remain calm watching the devastation of Muslim culture, historical, and religious buildings, like the Gazi Husref-beg's library in Sarajevo, the Banja Luka mosque in Ferhadija, and hundreds of other monuments of an old civilization."

Mr. Saldic laid particular emphasis on the humanitarian activities of European Muslims directed to the homeland, but he warned about the necessity for the joint action of Merhamet and other Muslim charitable organizations with Caritas and the Red Cross, for example. As soon as the situation allows it, there will be other humanitarian convoys heading to Bosnia-Herzegovina from Stuttgart, Zurich, Vienna, Paris, and other European cities.

RSK Leaders Discuss Crime, Profiteering

93BA1370B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 93 p 14

[Article by Djuro Djukic: "A Showdown With the Mafia Announced"]

[Text] Glina, 3 Aug—The RSK [republic of Serbian Krajina] is at the lowest stage of internal organization since its birth. Whereas on the international scene it has never been better off, internal problems have never been greater. Our people are suffering from our stupidities, and we should ask ourselves how all this is to be endured? This observation comes from Goran Hadzic, republic president, and Mile Paspalj, president of the assembly, during a visit they made the other day to Banija with the chiefs of Krajina civilian and military authorities.

The government leadership has come again to Banija after having observed recently in talks with opstina chiefs here that there are a number of problems in this region which culminated in the "incursion of enemy commando groups, insufficient concern for the families of the killed and wounded, widespread cases of violent crime, smuggling, looting, and robbery."

Following such assessment from responsible figures, Krajina officials decided to visit several opstinas in Krajina and "look for solutions on the spot for a way out of this situation." On Saturday, they talked to representatives of military and civilian authorities in Glina, where a number of examples confirmed for them the situation observed earlier. The situation in the region of Banija and Kordun has deteriorated because of several months of black marketeering and the smuggling of goods to the Muslims.

Stratification of the Population

In what is called Sentilj, the term given here to the border zone between Kordun in the RSK and Cazin Krajina, the population is stratified into the extremely rich and the extremely poor because of the failure of government authorities to prevent this phenomenon, it was said in Glina.

"Those who have become involved in shady dealings have filled their pockets with German marks and instead of being on the battle lines, they are engaged in lucrative business. Honest people and patriots are out on the firing line. When the war is over, the fighting men will have to take jobs with deserters," said battalion commander Rade Padezanin.

His colleague, Jovan Kljajic, addressed the authorities as follows:

"Are we in the front lines to blame for this situation or you? Is there a conductor in our choir who is supposed to get rid of those who have fallen silent?"

Pero Opajic said:

"We are defending our children, and we are not sorry for that. We are defending thieves and smugglers, for that we are sorry. We are calling for unity, order, and the law, we are seeking an agreement and deadlines by which you will perform the tasks."

Covering many of the consequences of this situation, Mile Korac, president of the Executive Council of the Glina Opstina Assembly, said that this anarchy "is contributing to loss of the Krajina's personnel, and anyone who is worth anything is leaving this region."

Mile Bjeljac, secretary of the Banija SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs], conveyed the results of his department and also the reasons why they occurred. The police, in his opinion, are poorly supplied with equipment. There have been frequent attacks on authorized officials. Individuals refuse to testify out of fear, and matters are compounded by the interwoven jurisdiction of military and civilian authorities.

Work for the Military Courts as Well

General Mile Novakovic, commander of the Serbian army of Krajina, spoke about preventing war profiteering and the need to confiscate property gained illegally, as well as about the military courts that are soon to be introduced over the entire territory of Krajina.

Mile Martic, minister of internal affairs, announced a fierce skirmish with the Mafia, as he termed the war profiteers. He advocated taking away operating licenses from all private stores on the territory of Banija and

Kordun, 1,700 of which have sprung up during the war, and issuing permits only to those proven not to have participated in wartime smuggling.

Mile Paspalj proposed concrete resolutions, which he would have the government adopt and carry over into its own decisions, which would take effect immediately. Aside from aid to families of those killed and disabled in the war, they include a decision to immediately begin arresting war profiteers.

Nevertheless, the government will be discussing it all this week, after which it will work out a set of specific measures. A special detachment of the Serbian army of Krajina, reinforced with soldiers who are mainly not from this region, took possession a month ago of the notorious border with Cazin Krajina. The change on the border has yielded constructive results, and criminal acts, according to the assertions of the detachment's members, have been largely stopped. However, people here think that "nothing has been done in the depth" and that the detachment should get support from both military and civilian authorities. The issue of change among those who are holding back these intentions is imposed in and of itself, the people from Banija and Kordun comment. It is another story whether something will actually happen to those who up to now have already accumulated immense amounts of German marks and have done all this before the eyes of responsible officials.

Federal

Minister Asks UNSC Head To Lift Sanctions

LD2108115593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1128 GMT 21 Aug 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] New York, August 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Milorad Unkovic asked on Friday evening [20 August] this month's president of the UN Security Council [UNSC], U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright that the UN sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia be lifted because of their destructive effect on the entire industry and population of the country.

Unkovic informed Ambassador Albright about the extraordinarily grave humanitarian situation in Yugoslavia caused by the sanctions.

He said that the situation on the humanitarian level had reached a critical point, that children and the elderly were worst hit by the shortage of medicines, and that diseases which had been practically eradicated were threatening again. He warned in particular of the unforeseeable consequences to the whole population if the question of imports of natural gas, oil for heating and essential foodstuffs was not settled in time.

On the outcome of the just closed round of the Geneva talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Unkovic recalled that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had striven resolutely for the earliest political settlement of the conflict and stressed the country's determination to do all it can to contribute towards that goal. Stating that no step which might jeopardize the achievement of peace ought to be taken at the current stage of negotiations, when a significant progress had been made, he pointed out that an outside military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina would lead to spreading the conflict far beyond its present borders.

Mrs. Albright is understood to have said she would faithfully convey the contents of the talk to the members of the Security Council. She received with understanding the Yugoslav minister's statement about the humanitarian situation in Yugoslavia, but said that she was also greatly concerned about the humanitarian situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially Sarajevo.

Mrs. Albright appealed to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to continue exerting utmost efforts for the earliest possible restoration of peace and for enabling unhampered humanitarian aid supplies for the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Kontic Says Embargo 'Main Reason' for Crisis

AU2308122193 Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Aug 93 p 7

[Interview with Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic by Marko Winter in Belgrade; date not given: "Survive—Until the Sanctions End"]

[Text] [Winter] Prime Minister, many weeks ago you already described the economic situation in your country as very difficult. How do you see the situation now?

[Kontic] In one sentence, one can say that the social and economic situation is more than dramatic at the moment, and it looks as if it were even to deteriorate.

[Winter] What are the reasons for it in your opinion?

[Kontic] The main reasons are the sanctions that have been imposed against us. However, they are not the only reason. The former economic system of self-administration, for example, led to stagnation as early as in the eighties. The situation became worse as a result of the secession in 1990 and the disintegration of the Yugoslav market, which was bound to have an impact on the economic developments in the country.

Nevertheless, the main reason for the current crisis are indeed the sanctions. The year 1991 was still more or less a normal year, even though there were the first signs of a crisis. In November 1991, the EC imposed its sanctions, which were followed up by those of the UN Security Council in late May 1992. The result was a 26 percent decline in national income in 1992 compared to 1991—from $25 billion to $18 billion. We had $7 billion less to spend. At the same time, spending increased as a result of the necessary humanitarian aid for the Serbs in the Krajina and for the many refugees.

This year—1993—the national income will probably not surmount $12 billion, which means that within only two years it was reduced by more than 50 percent, which, of course, has a disastrous effect on the standard of living.

[Winter] Can you give us any examples of it?

[Kontic] In 1991, the average income was about $300. At the beginning of this year it dropped to about $50, or about one-sixth. Now it is considerably less.

After imports in raw materials and other materials completely stopped, production in major branches of our industry had to be discontinued. At the moment, very few enterprises that can rely on domestic raw material are still operating. However, the workers have not been sent home because there are agreements that workers must not be dismissed as long as the sanctions are in force. This means that, on paper, our current work force consists of about 2.2 million employees, whereas in reality no more than 1.2 million are working. If you add the 800,000 registered unemployed, our unemployment rate is the highest of all.

The indirect damage caused by the sanctions is by no means smaller. We were the first of the former socialist countries to develop strong democracy in economic and social life. This process was interrupted by the sanctions. The international community is thus infringing upon its very own conventions—for example regarding the protection of mothers and children, refugees, ill people, etc. The outrage this has created, the decline of the standard of living, and the fact that we have even been denied humanitarian aid have led to the strengthening of extremist and radical forces in Yugoslavia.

Moreover, the reform process in the economy has been interrupted. The Serbian Government now even had to suspend the law on transforming the system of state ownership to other forms of ownership. Yet, this means a return to forms of ownership that proved to be ineffective, which will make our future reintegration into the normal European and global processes more difficult. [Winter] How do you think you can overcome this desperate situation?

[Kontic] We will first of all have to rely on our own strength. After all, under UN Security Council Resolution 820 and the agreements by the five powers of 22 May 1993, we have no chances whatsoever of being permitted any imports, not even of a humanitarian nature.

On the other hand, I do not know a single state that would have been able to implement a stabilization program without foreign aid. Yet, we have been denied foreign capital and technology from the very beginning.

Our possibilities at home are also limited. We have frozen the new economic system, which means that, at the moment, we have actually three systems: First, the one under the Constitution of 1974, which provides for the prevalence of state ownership; second, the new system, which only just started to work; and finally a third one, which has resulted from the sanctions and is based on a black market for foreign currency, shadow economy, corruption, and crime.

This limits the possibilities of economic policy, which is why our objectives are very modest. We want to slow down the negative development trends. We would like to cut the inflation rate, which is currently oscillating between 300 and 400 percent a month, to 50-60 percent. We want to slow the decrease in productivity, because we will not be able to stop the decline under the conditions of the sanctions. Since we are denied imports, more enterprises will stop production. It does not matter whether a technological process depends on imports to 1, 2, or 15 percent; if these imports discontinue, production will have to stop sooner or later. It would even be a success if we could reach the state of stagnation. Even as far as the standard of living is concerned, the only thing we consider possible is to reduce the pace at which things are deteriorating.

Unless we take stringent steps, the rate of inflation will rise to 800 or even 1,000 percent a month. This would lead to the collapse of the financial system, and the dinar would completely be replaced by the German mark as the means of payment, or we would return to the barter economy. All we can do is to interrupt the negative trends by administrative means to reach a level at which we can survive until the sanctions end.

[Winter] The lifting of the sanctions is invariably being linked to the end of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. How do you see the chances of achieving that?

[Kontic] The international community imposed the sanctions because of our alleged aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina. Later, it turned out that what has been going on there was not an aggression but a civil war, which even Butrus-Ghali and Clinton had to confirm. However, the sanctions were not lifted, but even stepped up. As we are fulfilling the conditions, ever new conditions have been imposed on us. All of a sudden, it was demanded that the Bosnian Serbs first withdraw from the occupied territories. Now that there is the possibility of solving the Bosnian crisis on the basis of a tripartition, which is what Yugoslavia advocated from the very beginning, sources in the United States maintain that even that is not sufficient for lifting the sanctions.

Actually, I expected that. The conditions we had been requested to accept have never been transparent enough for us to say: Now we have fulfilled them all. In reality, individual members of the community of states, of the EC, and later even of the United Nations, pressed for the sanctions not because of the alleged aggression but because of their very own interests in the territories of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. The Geneva agreement on constitutional principles for Bosnia-Herzegovina was a large step toward peace. We thought that the other problems could then be cleared very quickly. However, we did not expect that [Bosnian President] Alija Izetbegovic would be encouraged from the outside, particularly from the United States, to block the negotiations with the hope of military intervention.

Izetbegovic is not interested in the protection of humanitarian aid or in the bombing of Serbian positions, but only in a general military intervention by the United States and NATO on the side of the Muslims against the Bosnian Serbs. Only if Izetbegovic is told, clearly and unambiguously, that he cannot count on military intervention will he be ready for serious talks. Otherwise, there is a danger that the war will deteriorate again.

Yugoslavia continues to be ready for the greatest possible cooperation to achieve a peaceful solution. However, we will insist that this readiness is linked to the lifting of the sanctions and the return of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] to the international community of states.

So far, the only effect of our readiness to give in and to strike compromises has been that we were confronted with new conditions. No country and no people can be

expected to accept such a policy. This policy threatens our dignity and our existence, which we cannot accept.

[Winter] How do you assess Security Council Resolution 855, which demands permission from Yugoslavia for the dispatching of more CSCE observers to Kosovo, the Sandzak, and Vojvodina?

[Kontic] I think that the Security Council, for the first time, dealt with the CSCE and a country's relations with the CSCE in such a way. We have not ended cooperation with the CSCE, neither have we deviated from CSCE standards. However, we want cooperation on the basis of equal rights. We want to be involved and consulted more strongly. We are demanding that others not sit in judgment upon us in our absence. At the moment we are denied the right to voice our opinion before we are condemned and to contend obvious lies or provocations. We cannot accept Resolution 855, which insinuates that we are against cooperation with the CSCE.

Simic Optimistic on Easing of Sanctions

LD2208151693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1504 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Kragujevac, Aug 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Vice Premier Zeljko Simic said on Sunday [22 August] that he was optimistic about an easing of the international community's sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by the end of the year.

In an interview to Radio Kragujevac in central Serbia, Simic noted that Yugoslavia was no longer alone in its justified demand for the sanctions to be gradually lifted.

It is now more than clear that appearing slowly on our example are foundations of a new international common law, which makes it possible to deal with world crises unilaterally and not by the force of arguments, but by force as an argument. It has become obvious to Russia and to many other influential countries that by a conspiracy of silence in relation to Yugoslavia they are helping to create such a new world order as will minimize their own role, said Simic.

Speaking about further foreign political activity of Yugoslavia, Simic said that it had to become even more pragmatic and realistic, which in no way means less patriotic. On the contrary, he added, we must open quickly but with dignity also to the countries which are distinctly unfriendly towards Yugoslavia and even to those which have decisively contributed to its disintegration.

The opening of Yugoslavia must be based on the principles of equality, observance of the country's sovereignty, and common interests. That is why words which unnecessarily irritate others, which support a simplified image (of Yugoslavia) and which close doors to us instead of opening them, should be eliminated from diplomatic communication, concluded Simic.

Government Expresses Concern Over Border Incidents

LD2008153693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1207 GMT 20 Aug 93

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] is expressing serious concern over continuous attempts by the Albanian side to provoke armed incidents on the Yugoslav-Albanian border, in which the state territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is violated. Between January and 6 August this year, says a statement issued by the federal government today, the Albanian side provoked 45 incidents, 20 of which were armed incidents.

In recent months, border incidents have intensified in which a large number of Albanian civilians and soldiers took part. The aggressiveness of the Albanian provocations, and the seriousness of the illegal incursions into the territory of the FRY, are particularly reflected in the unscrupulous use of fire arms against Yugoslav border guards while on routine duty of guarding and securing the FRY borders, and also in the demolition of border signs.

In this connection we are most vehemently condemning the killing of a Yugoslav border guard on Yugoslav territory in the immediate proximity of the Albanian border on 19 August, when a border patrol of the Yugoslav Army was ambushed.

The escalation of armed attacks on Yugoslav border guards, and the violation of the FRY state territory represent a part of a deliberate policy pursued by the Republic of Albania Government, aimed at destabilizing the situation in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija, and in the wider region of the Balkans, in the view of realizing their particular goals.

This was specially confirmed in a statement by Sali Berisha, the president of the Republic of Albania, made on Albanian TV on 10 August this year, and in a letter from the Republic of Albania Government to the UN Security Council, in which they openly demand "Kosovo be placed under the NATO and UN control, and foreign observers be deployed along the border between Albania and Serbia, and in Kosovo."

These official Albanian stands openly, before the entire world public, reveal real intentions and objectives of the policy pursued by the Republic of Albania Government which is directed against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It is obvious that top officials of the Republic of Albania are continuing and intensifying the policy of the communist regime of Enver Hoxha [former Albanian leader] regarding the creation of a greater Albania, which in addition to the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, should include parts of other Balkan states. Such policy is manifest in their open support and encouragement lent to the secessionist forces in Kosovo

and Metohija. It was specially confirmed by the recognition of "the so-called republic of Kosovo" by Albania.

By openly interfering in the internal affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, encouraging and helping secessionist forces, inciting terrorist actions in Kosovo, escalating border incidents, and calling for a foreign military intervention against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Albanian Government has openly been violating principles of the UN Charter, Helsinki principles, the Paris CSCE Charter, and other international documents on the observance of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of states. The current policy of the Republic of Albania Government toward the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a source of great danger for peace and stability in the Balkans.

The FRY Government has on several occasions expressed its readiness for the normalization and development of relations with the Republic of Albania, and launched initiatives for meetings and talks between representatives of the governments of the two countries on all issues in connection with bilateral relations. The FRY Government, devoted to the principles of policy of good- neighborly relations, will continue with such a policy.

The FRY Government is refuting all accusations by the Republic of Albania Government about its responsibility for the border incidents. In an effort to prevent the undesirable border incidents from reoccurring, and to bring the interstate border situation in harmony with international norms, the FRY Government has on several occasions pointed at the need for preventive actions in order to prevent illegal crossing of the Albanian-Yugoslav border by Albanian citizens, and for a negotiated regulation of all issues of mutual interest. However, for over a year the Republic of Albania Government has for no reason been postponing a reply to our demand for a meeting of a main mixed interstate commission for border incidents.

In contravention with all international norms and standards the Republic of Albania Government has been trying to relegate the importance of the FRY international borders to a marginal status, which is also the case with its other neighbors with whom, as it is widely known, it has very serious border problems. By encouraging its citizens to illegally cross the state borders, the Republic of Albania Government has deliberately been threatening lives of its citizens, and has been creating tension in relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and other neighboring states.

The FRY Government has informed the United Nations about all the incidents that have taken place on its border with the Republic of Albania, and pointed at the increasing danger of such irresponsible Albanian behavior and actions on stability, peace, and security in the region.

Provocations and unfounded political and propagandistic accusations by Albania go side by side with the intensification of international political, economic, and military pressure on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. A part of such anti-Yugoslav and particularly anti-Serbian policy pursued by the Republic of Albania are its frequent demands addressed to the United Nations Security Council, NATO, and other international organizations to intervene in Yugoslavia, particularly in Kosovo and Metohija, in various ways including a military intervention.

The FRY Government says that Yugoslavia is remaining true to the idea of open borders and free flow of people, in line with the provisions of the Helsinki Final Document and the Paris CSCE Charter. To this end, the FRY Government is urging a comprehensive dialogue with Albania on all open issues in connection with interstate relations, and their normalization on the basis of mutual respect, noninterference in internal affairs, and good-neighborly relations. This is the best and proven way for the strengthening of peace, security, and stability in the region.

Hence the FRY Government is calling on the Republic of Albania Government to show readiness for cooperation, and as a first step, accept a proposal for an urgent session of the main mixed interstate commission for border incidents, that would be followed by a meeting at the level of ministers.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will also in the future urge reaching of a constructive agreement with the Republic of Albania on the securing and maintaining of the stable situation on the state border.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will, as it has done so far, resolutely defend its territorial integrity, sovereignty, invulnerability of its borders, and lives of its border guards, the government statement says in conclusion.

U.S. Accused of Aiming To Destabilize Europe

AU1908205193 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 19 Aug 93

[Commentary by Ratko Dmitrovic]

[Text] Intense media and political attacks at the United Nations have been under way in the United States since the beginning of the week. Influential Senator Robert Dole, famous for his unscrupulous advocation of the destruction of former and even present Yugoslavia, openly warned [UN Secretary General Butrus] Butrus-Ghali to watch what he was doing, because, as Dole says, the American people did not elect him to conduct U.S. foreign policy.

Mrs. Albright, the U.S. representative to the United Nations—probably according to the plan in which the tasks have been handed out—did not touch Butrus-Ghali but instead came down on the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] command in Yugoslavia, especially Generals Briquemont and Hayes. The lady in question

cannot comprehend how an officer in a blue beret can muster the courage to doubt the efficiency of President Clinton's military intentions regarding Bosnia, or to be precise, the intention of the U.S. Administration to bomb the Serbs for the sake of peace in Bosnia.

The most influential U.S. paper THE NEW YORK TIMES resembles increasingly more a headquarters bulletin. This newspaper has been transformed into a battleground for squaring the accounts with one nation. THE NEW YORK TIMES daily demands bombing and withdrawal of the Serbs from around Sarajevo, the withdrawal of the Serbs from eastern Bosnia and Krajina. It would come as no surprise at all if they had demanded the withdrawal of the Serbs from Belgrade or Nis.

Toward the end of last week, THE NEW YORK TIMES in its editorial drew a plan for bringing the Serbs to their senses. In brief, this paper proposed that the Serbs be issued an ultimatum consisting of several points and if the Serbs do not accept it within 24 hours they should be blasted by bombs in Belgrade, that is. This week the same paper has been getting at the United Nations, judging that this organization is working to the advantage of the Serbs. The paper in question does not acknowledge the reports by the UNPROFOR command in Sarajevo which claim that Sarajevo is not under Serbian siege.

What British and French officers have established on the spot, American reporters and politicians in distant New York and Washington proclaim to be lies. Why is this so? Why is the U.S. Administration deliberately undermining the negotiations in Geneva, feeding Izetbegovic with hopes that NATO forces will strike at the Serbs? Why the pressure upon the United Nations and what kind of interests does the United States have in the Balkans, in Bosnia, to be precise, which has neither oil nor communism?

The basic U.S. aim seems to be to destabilize Europe. The strategy of generating and nurturing local, limited wars on European soil—the low-intensity clashes strategy, which was created in the United States three years ago after the disintegration of the communist bloc—is no big secret. At the end of the day, it proves to be much cheaper for the United States to instigate clashes in Europe than to fight a trade war with it. The great geostrategic significance of this territory has disappeared with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. NATO obviously no longer has a reason for its future existence and the Americans, as the domineering power within this military alliance, would now like to transform it into the UN armed forces by using in it Bosnia. They actually wish to legalize their future independent war operations throughout the world. Hence, the pressure upon the United Nations.

Judging by everything, these could be the possible and probable reasons for the present U.S. attitude toward the events in Bosnia and around it. There are numerous painful points and potential crisis zones on the territories of central and eastern Europe whose activation would dangerously shake up Europe. It is therefore, up to the Europeans, primarily the French and the English, to approach the Bosnian lesson by learning the moral for tomorrow.

Commentary on Shalikashvili Appointment

AU2108165793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text] The appointment of General Shalikashvili, heretofore commander of NATO forces in Europe, to the post of head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces, elicited great interest among American and other military observers. A military political commentary by Todor Mirkovic speaks about whether this appointment will affect U.S. policy as regards the clashes in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Begin Mirkovic recording] President Clinton's decision to appoint General Shalikashvili to the highest position in the command structures of the U.S. Armed Forces has been met with various comments and assessments which above all result from Gen. Shalikashvili's personality and his political and professional military orientation.

Gen. Shalikashvili is the first naturalized American to be given the post of head of the U.S. Armed Forces. He does not come from the ranks of military academy cadets and has left behind several generals and admirals with greater commanding experience in the services and branches of the U.S. Armed Forces. He succeeds Gen. Powell who is also a land forces general, something which has in a way disturbed the usual rotation practice.

Although he has not graduated from a military academy, according to U.S. commentators Gen. Shalikashvili is known to be an exceptional military professional. He is characterized by strictness [ostrina] in his leadership style and belongs to a contingent of the U.S. military establishment that advocates the need to maintain U.S. leading superpower status in the world, even to the point of military intervention if this is necessitated by U.S. national interests and preservation of that leading role.

Together with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, Gen. Shalikashvili advocated NATO's military interference in the clashes in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some people think that this fact, apart from Gen. Shalikashvili's leadership and other experience, was one of the main reasons for President Clinton's decision in his favor when choosing a new head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The appointment of Gen. Shalikashvili will most likely be approved by Congress. After that, but not before 1 October, Gen. Shalikashvili will assume the duties of the current head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell. In the meantime, Gen. Shalikashvili will be

acquainting himself with the duties awaiting him, but without the right to decide and command.

It is important to point out that according to regular and legally authorized U.S. policy and practice, positions on a possible U.S. military engagement in the world are adopted by the U.S. National Security Council; decisions on possible engagements are made by the U.S. President in his role as supreme commander of the Armed Forces.

The head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as the main military adviser to the President, presents the assessment of the situation with the stress on military concerns and makes suggestions about possible uses of the Armed Forces. If assessments and proposals by Gen. Shalikashvili concerning Bosnia-Herzegovina and the U.S. attitude toward that former Yugoslav republic differ from those advanced by Gen. Powell, they may then influence President Clinton's decision only partly and not essentially. The President's decisions on the initial engagement of U.S. forces in the world are influenced by many other factors also, including international factors, and above all the Allies and the UN Security Council. [end recording]

Lucrative Gasoline Black Market Viewed

93BA1370C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 93 p 14

[Article by L. Ivkovic: "Lucrative Transactions With Gasoline"]

[Text] Subotica, 3 Aug—Because the situation at the Kelebija and Horgos border crossings has normalized to some extent since Monday morning, our citizens have begun again to go to Hungary in large numbers mainly to buy gasoline, but also various technical goods and hygiene products, because those goods are considerably cheaper in Hungary than in our country. At the same time, citizens of Hungary are coming to Subotica in much greater numbers than in previous months and buying food in supermarkets, and also textiles and other goods which now are cheaper in our country than in theirs.

These days the biggest profit margin is on gasoline. Yugoslavs, especially those from towns near the border, are crossing to Hungary every day in their cars to buy gasoline, which costs 75 forints there, or 1.5 marks [DM]. Most of them who bring gasoline back do not use it for their own needs, but siphon it into cans and sell it at a price of between DM2 and DM2.5 per liter. In this way, it is possible to earn DM10 to DM15 on 30 liters, and that is a good paycheck by our present standards. Some, for example, cross the border several times a week for gasoline, and the earnings are guaranteed. Along with gasoline, there is no great difficulty in carrying from Hungary toothpaste, toothbrushes, soap, laundry powder, etc.

This entire business does have its good side. The accumulated social welfare problems of unemployed people in Subotica are being resolved thanks to the fact that the city is located near a neighboring country, and therefore more can be earned just on these little price differences than in many firms where they are said to be operating well and doing a good business. It is not without good reason that a sociologist of the Center for Social Work in Subotica told us that approximately 4,000 to 6,000 families in Subotica are surviving thanks to this petty trade.

Citizens of Hungary are also coming to Subotica. They find it pays to buy in our country, mainly food and textiles, which are much cheaper than in their country. Bread, for example, costs barely one-third as much in our country as in Hungary, so it is not unusual for our customs officials to note more and more frequently that citizens of Hungary are carrying several loaves.

As for the border and everything that has been happening in Subotica during these stifling hot days, the flea market is an unavoidable marketplace. However, in recent days certain unusual things have been happening around the flea market. First of all, an unusually large number of refugees have been coming to this traditional gathering place. Many are coming from Bosnia and buying everything they find, especially food and gasoline.

Among the dealers, whom in recent days the police have been checking every day, there are many who have refugee status. By contrast with those trading in foreign currency here, they are much more connected and organized. They have their permanent places where they gather and "deal," and one gets the impression that they dictate the prices of foreign currencies, above all, the mark, which in Subotica is always 20 to 30 percent higher than in other towns in Serbia. It is another matter whence the dealers constantly get fresh bank notes. Well-informed people who follow these movements say that the "bosses" of the dealers meet daily and set the terms for purchase and sale of foreign exchange, and if necessary they change the exchange rate on the spot during the day. No one can alter that exchange rate set by the "bosses."

Serbia

Government Involvement in Danube Blockade Denied

AU2208204093 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Excerpts] The nonparty associations White Rose and Orthodox Harmony New Byzantium have reacted to a recent statement by the U.S. representative to the United Nations on the blockade of the Danube. They have also sent a letter to the U.S. Government. Here is a report on the justifiability of such assertions by our journalist Jovan Nikolic:

[Begin recording] [Nikolic] Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the Security Council and current chairwoman of the Security Council, had talks with Mr. Unkovic, our trade minister, in New York two days ago and among other things reproached the Yugoslav Government for imposing a blockade of the Danube. We are now in Zemun, where this blockade of river traffic along the Danube is currently being carried out. We would like to hear who is conducting the blockade. We ask Mr. Radomir Smiljanic, head of the White Rose Association, to tell us who is conducting the blockade.

[Smiljanic] The blockade is conducted by the White Rose and New Byzantium associations, as Greenpeace-type movements, which have in fact organized a popular revolt [narodni bunt]. Ambassador Albright is falsely informed. The blockade is in no way being conducted by the Yugoslav and Serbian Governments. On the contrary, we have had great difficulties with both these governments, particularly with the Ministry of Traffic of the Serbian Government. As I have said, this is a popular revolt, a Greenpeace-type movement. The people simply prevent ships with false documents from passing through. [passage omitted]

[Nikolic] The length of the Danube flowing through the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is about 550km. However, for about 150-160km the Danube flows through two states, the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. People in the former, the republic of Serbian Krajina, are also preparing a blockade of the Danube. Mr. Slobodan Jarcevic, minister of foreign affairs of the republic of Serbian Krajina, will tell us who is preparing to blockade the Danube.

[Jarcevic] We have received a report that the ambassador of the Republic of Austria lodged a protest with Security Council Chairwoman Albright demanding that the Austrian economy be protected from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We would have been pleased if the ambassador of the Republic of Austria had lodged a protest in order to protect the people of the republic of Serbian Krajina and the republic of Srpska, as well as the citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia who cannot obtain medicines, food, footwear, and clothes. The people virtually occupied the Danube, 100 km of which belongs to the republic of Serbian Krajina. I do not believe that we will be able to stop the people who will come to the Danube and impede the progress of Austrian, German, and Hungarian ships even more definitively than the White Rose and New Byzantium.

[Nikolic] This is therefore, the reply to the assertion by the Security Council chairwoman about who is blocking the Danube. By the way, one can in fact ask whether the Danube is blocked at all. It is not, because one of the conditions for ships to sail through is to allow one of our ships blocked in Prahovo to sail along the Yugoslav part of the Danube. [end recording]

SPS Leader Says Early Elections Possible

LD2108161393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1518 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 21 (TANJUG)—Member of the main board of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) Mihajlo Markovic assessed on Saturday [21 August] in his interview to TANJUG that early elections were possible in case the state organs failed to do what is necessary for citizens to survive in the conditions imposed by the international community.

Opposition parties in Serbia, in the circumstances of an economic crisis and hyperinflation caused by the sanctions, have increasingly often asserted that early elections might take place next year.

Markovic, however, believes that "at this time most of the citizens do not want elections, but rigorous measures against criminals in the economy, just as an economic and social program that would secure a more just distribution of the available resources."

He called for the resolute implementation of the federal government's measures to provide the necessary foodstuffs and commodities for the population and to frustrate the black market and hyperinflation.

Markovic said that those responsible for a sudden aggravation of the citizens' living conditions this summer were "war profiteers on high posts, just as those politicians who have so far been protecting them."

Asked about the causes of the crisis, Markovic said that the economic crisis, inherited from the former Yugoslavia, was largely aggravated by the sanctions imposed in May 1992 because of an alleged involvement of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) In the war in the ex-Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH).

Markovic assessed that the sanctions represented "an unparalleled case in history of the world community's immoral and sadistic relationship towards a people."

He said that the collapse of Yugoslavia and the outbreak of an armed conflict was to be blamed—in addition to the separatist movements which had led to the forcible secession of four republics—also on those European and world powers which took the destruction of Yugoslavia to be their goal, and which had all the time been "extremely partially and hypocritically" upholding "certain sides in the conflict against the other sides" for "alleged humanitarian reasons."

Montenegro

Social Democrats Comment on Relations With Serbia

AU2308072893 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Aug 93 p 7

[Report by D.V.: "Say 'No' to Milosevic and Seselj"]

[Text] Podgorica—In a letter that was simultaneously sent to Momir Bulatovic, president of the Republic; Risto Vukcevic, chairman of the Assembly of Montenegro; and Milo Djukanovic, republican prime minister, the Social Democratic Party of Montenegro demanded that an initiative be started for an extraordinary meeting of the Montenegrin Parliament to be held on the following single subject: "Taking measures for the sanctions to be immediately lifted."

Mr. President, the economic and social situation in Montenegro is so dramatic that it has become an issue of direct responsibility of every political factor. The necessity to hold an extraordinary meeting of the Montenegrin Assembly is crucial for Montenegro and its citizens, and the obligation to tell the citizens the full and pure truth is an urgent and moral question. This was, among other things, said in the message sent by the Montenegrin Social Democrats. The message also said that it would be necessary to start a debate in the media and particularly on television during the coming weeks about all essential issues of the socioeconomic position of Montenegro and its citizens.

It was pointed out in the open letter that the public works that the government announced should begin in September or October have no healthy foundation and that, "above all reflect the complete absurdity of the situation that we are in."

The top people in the republican authorities are expected to "resolutely say no to the policy conducted by [Serbian President] Milosevic and [Serbian Radical Party leader Vojislav] Seselj instead of adjusting to it every day." As an illustration of the attitude Belgrade has toward the Montenegrin authorities, the Social Democrats point to the latest decision by the Federal Government to deny hospitality to the CSCE observers. "Reducing the current attitude of Montenegro toward this primitive act to statements of the republican foreign minister that one can always dissociate from means simply creating an illusion of an independent position," it is said in the open letter of the Social Democratic Party of Montenegro.

Former Agriculture Minister Sentenced

93BA1370E Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 93 p 11

[Article by D.B.: "A Month in Pretrial Custody for a Former Montenegrin Minister"]

[Text] Podgorica, 3 Aug—Since last Friday, when he was brought in, Branko Abramovic, M.A., former minister for agriculture, forestry, and water management in the Montenegrin government, has been in pretrial custody. He has given his first testimony before Marko Dakic, investigating judge of the Superior Court in Podgorica. The testimony took several hours, and Judge Dakic does not wish to provide any information whatsoever about what the suspect Abramovic said. He is merely presenting the charge whereby the former minister Abramovic is suspected of the crime of theft committed by malfeasance and unlawful trade.

As has already been announced, through the firm Ekspoars in Subotica and the private operator Zeljko Djurisic, Abramovic acquired fertilizer for the spring planting in Montenegro and thereby led staff members of the socialized firm Kooperacija in Podgorica to believe that he bought the fertilizer at higher prices although he knew that it could be purchased at lower prices. He led the personnel of Kooperacija into the mistake because he told them that he was buying the fertilizer from Zorka in Sabac. On 23 April he obtained from the private operator Djurasevic the unlawful use of 2,015 million dinars.

The criminal charge also includes unlicensed trade which he conducted through a network of traders. They bought and sold livestock feed and retail goods, affording him an unlawful gain greater than 45 million dinars during 1992 and 1993.

The investigating judge will interrogate more than 20 witnesses, and Abramovic has been ordered to serve pretrial custody of one month.

That is the maximum which the investigating judge can order.

To recall, in a session of the Montenegrin parliament Abramovic attributed the suspicion to the desire to destroy his reputation and said that this was organized by the Niksic Agricultural Combine. The investigation will show whether any of the relatives of various ministers, as is being rumored, were involved in the shady dealing with which Abramovic is charged.

Macedonia

Panic: Serbs Pose 'No Threat' to Macedonia

LD2108164993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1451 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text] Skopje, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—As a soldier I can say that there has never been any question of any Yugoslav activities against Macedonia, Colonel General Zivota Panic, chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav Army, said in an interview for Skopje Radio today. As far as this is concerned, our Macedonian brothers can feel at ease, Panic added. There is no threat to Macedonia from the north.

Panic hopes the people of Macedonia—should anything happen in this republic—will have enough strength to settle everything themselves. In any case, Panic said, Macedonia is now under protection by UN armed forces. U.S. troops are also there. These contingents will continue to increase.

"The Yugoslav Army has no claims on Macedonia. Certain statements in this connection are mere fabrications of irresponsible individuals wishing to create a split between the Serbian and Macedonian people. There is no build-up of Yugoslav Army units in the area bordering with Macedonia," Panic stressed.

The chief of general staff of the Yugoslav Army drew attention to the need for a joint approach to establishing mutual frontiers, as is the case with all the frontiers in the world. We are trying to live in peace with all our neighbors and discuss all together issues with them. We have to develop mutual relations, Panic said.

Panic went on to answer a number of questions regarding the possibility of was spreading to the southern Serbian province [Kosovo] and to Macedonia. Panic confirmed the Yugoslav Army's resolute determination to preserve peace and the territorial integrity of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] throughout its territory, including Kosovo and Metohija.

Ethnic Albanian Military Officers Cause Concern

AU2308093293 Tirana ATA in English 0908 GMT 23 Aug 93

[Text] Tirana, August 23 (ATA)—Macedonian public opinion is intensely preoccupied these days with the issue of the presence of ethnic Albanian officers among the senior ranks of the Macedonian Army, the newspaper RILINDJA reports. The paper writes that on the eve of Macedonian elections, this issue has become the subject of political haggling, as it concerns a fundamental question of the nature of the Macedonian state.

The dilemma now facing the Macedonian polity is whether Macedonia will be "a civil democratic state" or a "national state of the Macedonians." In the context of the coming elections, political factions are being categorized as to which is more or which is less "Macedonian."

Twenty-three of 89 reservist officers and cadets who are now participating in 3 training courses to qualify them for service in the Macedonian Army are ethnic Albanians. Counting them, the ethnic Albanians will constitute 3.5 per cent of the Macedonian officer corps, when ethnic Albanians make up 40 per cent of the country's population.

Statistics Reveal Average Salary of 232.46 Marks

AU2008180893 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 20 Aug 93

[Unattributed report: "June Average 3,487 Denars"]

[Text] According to the Bureau of statistics, the average wage in Macedonia in June was 3,482 denars or 232.46 German marks.

The wages in the commercial sector in June were considerably lower than the wages of those working in noncommercial organizations. That average is 3,213 denars, compared to the 4,555 denars in the administration.

Kosovo

UN Condemns 'Discriminatory Practices' in Kosovo

LD2108013893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2300 GMT 20 Aug 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—The United Nations' Sub-Commission on the Rights of Minorities on Friday [20 August] passed a resolution condemning Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) for its alleged "discriminatory practices" and the "violation of the human rights of ethnic Albanians" in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo-Metohija.

The resolution was adopted by secret ballot, which set a precedent in the work of the U.N. specialised bodies.

The resolution demands of the competent Yugoslav authorities to "abolish all discriminatory laws," "facilitate the work" of the special rapporteurs of the human rights commission in Kosovo and permit fact-finding missions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (C.S.C.E.).

Zivorad Igic, ranking official of Serbia's ruling Socialist Party in Kosovo-Metohija, said on Friday that the authors of the resolution had not specified which provisions of the international law Serbia was violating in that part of its territory.

If Serbia and Yugoslavia are determined to prevent separatist activity in and secession of a part of their territory, then they cannot be said to be practicing discrimination, but are only doing what any other state is doing for its security, Igic said in a statement to a local radio station.

Kosovo-Metohija has been wracked by a strong ethnic Albanian separatist movement for decades. Albanians, who make up a hefty section of the population in Kosovo-Metohija, are a minority in Serbia and Yugoslavia. Their leaders openly advocate the province's secession from Serbia and Yugoslavia and annexation to neighbouring Albania.

Under the influence of the separatist leaders, most ethnic Albanians are boycotting the authorities and laws of Serbia and Yugoslavia, refusing to attend Albanian-language schools which teach the syllabi uniform in the state, refusing to pay taxes or to serve in the army.

The resolution, which was proposed and adopted outside the usual procedure, because the question of Kosovo-Metohija was not on the agenda, was passed with 17 ayes, four nayes and three abstentions.

The resolution on Kosovo is more or less a reprint of a similar document on Bosnia-Herzegovina adopted by the body earlier. Tha only difference is that the Kosovo resolution omits any reference to "genocide."

The opinion prevails in the diplomatic circles in Geneva that the appearance of the document, which follows the pattern of Bosnia, may be a prelude to "opening a file on Kosovo."

Igic said that pressure of this kind on Yugoslavia intensified every time there was a chance of stabilising the situation in the lands of former Yugoslavia and that the problem of Kosovo was being used by the powers that be in the world to destabilise the new Yugoslavia.

Long Lines Reported at Macedonian Border

AU2108152193 Tirana ATA in English 0837 GMT 21 Aug 93

[Text] Tirana, August 21 (ATA)—There has been great movement at the border crossing points in Han te Elezit and Gllobogice, on both sides of Kosova-Macedonia border in the past two days. Long lines of vehicles wait for hours to pass. This flood of people are hurrying to beat the deadline of August 23, after which the Macedonian Government will impose a new requirement that all travelers have passports. Ethnic Albanians from all parts of the former Yugoslavia have heretofore been able to travel freely without special documentation. Now, they are making haste to cross the border to visit family and friends or to return to their own homes in Kosova or Macedonia before the new rule goes into effect.

The Macedonian passport decision has disturbed both the general public and political parties, who are demanding that the decision be reconsidered. The new Macedonian policy will, they say, have the greatest effect on the Albanians from Kosova, who, on one pretext or another, will probably be denied travel documents by the Serbian administration.

Rugova Urges International Protection for Province

AU2108194393 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr.167 in English 20 Aug 93

[Unattributed report: "'Kosova Should Be Placed Under International Protection,' President Rugova Says"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo]

[Text] "Massive scale repression and terror marked this week in Kosova", said President Rugova of the republic of Kosova speaking today (Friday [20 August]) at a press conference in Pristina. He spoke of two raids of the Serbian police in the town of Mitrovica last week, at an indoor cultural memorial manifestation and the intervention of the police against the crowd of people on Saturday, leaving no casualties, but many of them beaten and maltreated.

President Rugova spoke also of the Serbian seal-off of the city of Pristina on Tuesday, when Serbian forces harassed and plundered many citizens.

Over the last week, political activists and members of the Kosova parliament were targeted by the Serbian police, said Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, referring to the severe beating of LDK [Democratic League of Kosovo] branch leader in Gllogovc, Mr. Mehdi Bardhi, and the imprisonment of Skender Berisha and Slajdin Braha, deputies to the republic of Kosova parliament. The deputies had cooperated with the former CSCE mission office in Prizren, noted Dr. Rugova. "The mounting repression over the activism of the political parties is aimed at obstructing and eventually banning the political parties, as well as making people give up their political beliefs," remarked President Rugova.

Along with this repression, the ruining by Serbia of the private Albanian-owned small economy has been continuing, said Dr. Rugova.

"If this high profile repression continues, this is a clear signal that Serbia, namely its regime, is intent on having confrontation and a conflict in Kosova, which would be tragic for all," President Rugova of Kosova told reporters. He spoke of the increasing number of incidents at the Kosova - Albanian border, referring to the recent case of shooting by Serb civilian and paramilitary groups at the mountains of the Batushe village of Gjakova.

President Rugova commented today on the introduction of passport requirement at the Kosova-Macedonia border by the government of the Former Yugoslavia Republic of Macedonia, a decision, which as he said, would further render the free circulation of Albanians in both countries difficult. President Rugova called on the attention of the international community over the fact that "the Albanians are being once more divided with international borders between Kosova and Macedonia, and that two cities—Shkup/Skopje and Pristina—traditionally linked with economic, trade, cultural and civilization ties, are now cut off."

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova reiterated his call for placing Kosova, as he said, under international protection. "This measure could avert the conflict and its possible implications in Kosova and wider in the region," said President Rugova.

In response to a question put forward by journalists on reference to the detention of President Rugova by the Serbian police on Wednesday evening, he said: "The police halted us on the street after an official dinner I hosted for a German delegation, and took us to the police station without any explanation. We were kept there for an hour, being subjected to routine provocations. The Serbian police stopped me likewise on Tuesday in two checking points, and I was checked in a primitive manner. I share the same destiny with the other citizens of Kosova. The times are hard in Kosova, yet we will not give up," ended President Rugova.

Parties Deem Rugova Detention 'Repressive Act'

AU2108194493 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr.167 in English 20 Aug 93

[Unattributed report: "Kosova Political Parties and Associations Condemn President Rugova's Detention"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo]

[Text] Kosova political parties and other associations have condemned the detention of President Rugova of Kosova by the Serbian police on Wednesday [18 August] evening, calling it a grave provocation of the people of Kosova.

The Democratic League of Kosova denounced yesterday this move of the Serbian police in a strong-worded statement, in which it calls the international community "to undertake decisive and energetic steps against the Serbian policy of aggression in Kosova".

The Albanian Christian Democratic Party of Kosova in a statement issued today (Friday [20 August]) condemns this "unprovoked repressive act of the Serbian police as an unprecedented and uncivilized move against the leader of the prominent peaceful and democratic movement."

The Pristina-based Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms denounced in a communique today what it calls the peak of arrogance of the Serbian police-military state in Kosova.

Gnjilane Reportedly Surrounded by Police

LD2208105693 Tirana ATA in English 0809 GMT 22 Aug 93

[Text] Pristina, August 22 (ATA)—Since the early hours of August 21 the Gjilan town [Gnjilane] in Kosovo has been sieged by great Serbian police forces which control all [word indistinct]. The police forces are also concentrated in the streets within the city, especially in markets. Arrests are also made and the situation is extremely tense, the Information Commission of the Democratic League of Kosovo in Gjilan reports. In order to avoid violence the people leave the market, streets and close the shops. Acts of these kind such as massive repression and brutal interventions by the Serbian police also occurred during the week in Mitrovica, Pristina and Malisheve. The police deliberately chose the days of the market in Kosovo's cities in order to demonstrate force, increase repression and provoke conflicts. On August 20 there were police raids and several people were arrested in the villages of Cernice and Uglar and in the town of Gjilan.